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FROM  
THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME,

ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER,

AND FORMING A COMPLETE

SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,

AUTHOR OF "THE PICTURE OF SCOTLAND," "TRADITIONS OF EDINBURGH," "HISTORIES OF  
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JOHN GRAHAM,

OF CLAVERHOUSE,

VISCOUNT DUNDEE.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF SEAFORTH AT GLAMIS.

4

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JEAN-BAPTISTE DE LA CAILLE, A.S.

BORN 1686 DIED 1762

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN MARBLE, IN THE MUSEUM OF ASTRONOMY

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## GEORGE WISHART.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.



## SCOTTISH BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

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### H

HAMILTON, (THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR) WILLIAM, British ambassador at the court of Naples, and celebrated for his patronage of the fine arts, and his investigations on the subject of volcanoes, was born in 1730. Neither biographers nor contemporary periodical writers have furnished any account of his education or early habits; all that is commemorated regarding him previous to the commencement of his public life, is, that his family, a branch of the noble house of Hamilton, was in very reduced circumstances. He was in the most difficult of all situations—poor, highborn, and a Scotsman. "I was condemned," to use his own words, "to make my way in the world, with an illustrious name and a thousand pounds." Like many of his countrymen so situated, he had a choice betwixt semi-starvation in the army, and an affluent marriage—he prudently preferred the latter; and in 1755 he found himself most happily settled in life, with a young lady of beauty, connexions, amiable qualifications, and £5000 a-year. It is very probable that Mr Hamilton spent his hours in philosophical ease, until his acquisition of that situation in which he afterwards distinguished himself. In 1764, he was appointed ambassador to the court of Naples, where he continued till the year 1800. If his appointment as a resident ambassador for so long a period, is to be considered as but a method of expressing in more consequential terms the employment of an agent for advancing the study of the arts, the person was well chosen for the purpose, and the interests of the public were well attended to; but if Mr Hamilton's claims to national respect are to be judged by his merely diplomatic duties, the debt, in addition to the salary he received, will be very small. The reason why a permanent representative of the British government should have been found requisite in Sicily, is in reality one of those circumstances which a diplomatist only could explain. The fame acquired in other departments by the subject of our memoir, has prompted his biographers to drag to light his diplomatic exertions, yet, although nothing has been discovered which can throw a blot on his good name, the amount of service performed in thirty-six years is truly ludicrous. He entered into explanations with the marquis Tanucci, first minister of Sicily, regarding some improper expressions used by a gentleman of the press of the name of Torcia, in his "Political Sketch of Europe." He managed to keep his Sicilian majesty neuter during the American war. He acted with prudence during the family misunderstandings between Spain and Naples in 1784; and finally, he exerted himself in preventing any mischief from being perpetrated by "an eccentric

character among our nobility," who had made attempts to give much trouble to prudent people, by his conduct at Naples. But the kingdom of the two Sicilies was but the shadow of a European power, and was only regarded as it followed one or other of the great nations whose contests shook the world. It afforded in its active existence no arena for the statesman or the soldier. It was in the dust of buried ages that was hid beneath its soil that the active mind found employment in that feeble kingdom, and these were the only objects worthy to absorb the attention of the distinguished person whom we are commemorating.

On his arrival at the interesting country of his mission, Mr Hamilton repeatedly visited Vesuvius and Etna, and from a minute examination of the whole surrounding country, collected numerous important geological observations, which were from time to time, between the years 1766 and 1779, transmitted to the Royal Society, and afterwards made their appearance in the transactions of that body, and in the Annual Register. It was the design of Sir William Hamilton, to point out in these observations such evidence as might lead geologists to a better comprehension of the influence of subterraneous fires on the structure of the earth, and to display the first links of a chain of reasoning, which it was his hope future industry might make complete. It was his opinion that the land for many miles round Naples, was not, as it was generally supposed, a district of fruitful land, subject to the ravages of flame; but a part of the surface of the globe which owed its very existence to the internal conflagrations by which it was shaken. In illustration of this he considered Etna to have been formed by a series of eruptions, at protracted periods, as the smaller eminence of Monte Nuovo, near Puzzuoli, had been formed by one eruption of 48 hours' continuance. Among other minute circumstances, he discovered that the streets of Pompeii were paved with the lava of a former age, and that there was a deep stratum of lava and burnt matter under the foundations of the town, showing that the earliest eruption of history was not the first of nature, and that the labours of man might have been more than once buried beneath such coverings. As illustrations of these valuable remarks, the author collected a magnificent assortment of the various descriptions of lava, which he lodged in our national museum, that naturalists might be able to trace a connexion betwixt these immediate productions of the volcano, and other portions of the crust of the globe. These remarks were afterwards digested and systematized, and produced, first "*Observations on mount Vesuvius, mount Etna, and other volcanoes of the two Sicilies*," published in London in 1772. The next, a more aspiring work, was published at Naples in 1776, in two folio volumes, and called "*Campi Phlegreæ, Observations on the Volcanoes of the two Sicilies, as they have been communicated to the Royal Society of London, by Sir William Hamilton*." The numerous plates in this magnificent work of art, from views taken on the spot by Mr Valris, a British artist, are faintly engraved in little more than outline, and coloured with so much depth and truth, that they assume the appearance of original water-colour drawings of a very superior order. They are illustrative of his favourite theory, and represent those geological aspects of the country which he considered peculiarly applicable as illustrations. It is to be remarked, that neither in his communications to the Royal Society, nor in his larger works, does this author trace any complete exclusive system. He merely points out the facts on which others may work, acknowledging that he is disposed to pay more respect to the share which fire has had in the formation of the crust of the earth, than Buffon and others are disposed to admit. "By the help of drawings," he says, "in this new edition of my communications to the society, which so clearly point out the volcanic origin of this country, it is to be hoped that farther discoveries of the same nature may be made, and

that subterraneous fires will be allowed to have had a greater share in the formation of mountains, islands, and even tracts of land, than has hitherto been suspected." Many men of eminence at that time visited Sir William Hamilton, and marked the progress of his discoveries, and among the rest Monsieur Sausure, professor of natural history at Geneva, who accompanied him in his investigations, and acceded to the arguments he derived from them. During the course of his communications to the Royal Society, it was the fortune of the author to have an opportunity of witnessing Vesuvius in eruption.

In October, 1767, occurred the eruption which is considered to have been the twenty-seventh from that which in the days of Titus destroyed Herculaneum and Pompei. The mountain was visited by Hamilton and a party of his friends during this interesting scene, which has afforded material for one of the most graphic of his communications. But a grander scene of devastation attracted his attention in October, 1779, when the unfortunate inhabitants of Ottaiano had reason to dread the fate described by Pliny. Of this memorable eruption our author transmitted an account to Sir Joseph Banks, which he afterwards published as a supplement to his "*Campi Phlegræi*."

Previously to the period of the last event we have mentioned, the subject of our memoir was connected with the preparation of another great work, for which the world has incurred to him a debt of gratitude. He had made a vast collection of Etruscan antiquities—vases, statues, and fresco paintings, partly dug from the earth, and partly purchased from the museums of the decayed nobility, among which was that great collection now deposited in the British museum, which had belonged to the senatorial house of Porcinari. Of the most precious of these remains of antiquity, Hamilton allowed the adventurer D'Hancerville, to publish illustrated plates, liberally allowing the artist to appropriate the whole profits of the work. "Long since," he says "Mr Hamilton had taken pleasure in collecting those precious monuments, and had afterwards trusted them to him for publication, requiring only some elegance in the execution, and the condition, that the work should appear under the auspices of his Britannic majesty." The work accordingly was published at Naples, under the title of "*Antiquities Etrusques, Greques, et Romaines*." The abbe Winckelman mentions, that two volumes of this work were published in 1765, and two others the year following. Along with the author of a notice of Sir William Hamilton's Life, which appeared in Baldwin's Literary Journal, we have been unable to discover a copy of the two former volumes of this work, or to find any reference to them on which we can repose trust, nor do we perceive that the two latter volumes bear the marks of being a continuation, and neither of the after editions of Paris, 1787, and Florence, 1801 and 1808, which might have informed us on this subject, are at present accessible to us. The two volumes we have mentioned as having seen, contain general remarks on the subjects of the plates, in English and French, which both the imaginative matter, and the language, show to have been translated from the latter language into the former. The plates, by far the most valuable part of the work, introduced a new spirit into the depiction of the useful remains of antiquity, which enabled the artist who wished to imitate them, to have as correct an idea of the labours of the ancients, as if the originals were before him. The terra-cotta vases predominate; some of these are votive offerings—others have been adapted for use. A general view of the form of each is given, with a measurement, along with which there is a distinct fac-simile of the paintings which so frequently occur on these beautiful pieces of pottery; the engraving is bold and accurate, and the colouring true to the original. This work has been the means of adding the bold genius of classic taste to modern accuracy and skill in workmanship. From the painter

and statuary, to the fabricator of the most grotesque drinking cup, it has afforded models to artists, and is confidently asserted to have gone far in altering and improving the general taste of the age. During the exertions we have been commemorating, Hamilton was in the year 1772, created a knight of the Bath, a circumstance which will account for our sometimes varying his designation, as the events mentioned happened previously to, or after his elevation. The retired philosophical habits of Sir William Hamilton prevented him in the earliest years of his mission from forming intimacies with persons similarly situated, and he lived a life of domestic privacy, study, and observation of nature. But fame soon forced friends on his retirement, and all the eminent persons who visited his interesting neighbourhood became his guests. One of his friends, the French ambassador at the court of Naples, has told us that he protected the arts because the arts protected him, and enriched him. The motives of the characteristic may be doubted. A love of art fascinates even mercenary men into generosity, and the whole of Sir William Hamilton's conduct shows a love of art, and a carelessness of personal profit by his knowledge, not often exhibited. Duclos, secretary of the French academy, on visiting Naples, has drawn an enthusiastic picture of the felicity then enjoyed by Sir William Hamilton—his lady and himself in the prime of life, his daughter just opening to womanhood, beauty, and accomplishments; the public respect paid to his merits, and the internal peace of his amiable family; but this state of things was doomed to be sadly reversed. In 1775, Sir William lost his only daughter, and in 1782, he had to deplore the death of a wife who had brought him competence and domestic peace. After an absence of twenty years, he revisited Britain in 1784. The purpose of this visit is whispered to have been that he might interfere with an intended marriage of his nephew, Mr Greville, to Miss Emma Hart. If such was his view, it was fulfilled in a rather unexpected manner. It is at all times painful to make written reference to those private vices, generally suspected and seldom proved, the allusion to which usually receives the name of "scandal;" but in the case of the second lady Hamilton, they have been so unhesitatingly and amply detailed by those who have chosen to record such events, and so complacently received by the lady herself and her friends, that they must be considered matters of history, which no man will be found chivalrous enough to contradict. This second Theodosia passed the earlier part of her life in obscurity and great indigence, but soon showed that she had various ways in which she might make an independent livelihood. Some one who has written her memoirs, has given testimony to the rather doubtful circumstance, that her first act of infamy was the consequence of charitable feeling, which prompted her to give her virtue in exchange for the release of a friend who had been impressed. Be this as it may, she afterwards discovered more profitable means of using her charms. At one time she was a comic actress—at another, under the protection of some generous man of fashion; but her chief source of fame and emolument seems to have been her connexion with Romney and the other great artists of the day, to whom she seems to have furnished the models of more goddesses than classic poets ever invented. Mr Greville, a man of accurate taste, had chosen her as his companion, and the same principles of correct judgment which regulated his choice probably suggested a transference of his charge to the care of Sir William Hamilton. His own good opinion of her merits, and the character she had received from his friend, prompted Sir William soon after to marry this woman, and she took the title of lady Hamilton in 1791. At that time both returned to Britain, where Sir William attempted in vain to procure for his fair but frail bride, an introduction to the British court, which might authorize, according to royal etiquette, her presentation at

the court of Naples. But this latter was found not so difficult a barrier as that which it was considered necessary to surmount before attempting it. The beauty and, perhaps, the engaging talents of lady Hamilton procured for her notoriety, and notoriety brings friends. She contrived to be essentially useful, and very agreeable, to the king and queen of the Sicilies; and procured for herself their friendship, and for her husband additional honours. Her connection with lord Nelson, and the manner in which she did the state service, are too well known; but justice, on passing speedily over the unwelcome subject, cannot help acknowledging that she seems here to have felt something like real attachment. The latter days of this woman restored her to the gloom and obscurity of her origin. She made ineffectual attempts after the death of her husband to procure a pension from government. Probably urged by necessity, she insulted the ashes of the great departed, by publishing her correspondence with lord Nelson, followed by a denial of her accession to the act, which did not deceive the public. She died at Calais in February, 1815, in miserable obscurity and debt, without a friend to follow her to the grave, and those who took an interest in the youthful daughter of Nelson, with difficulty prevented her from being seized, according to a barbarous law, for the debts of her mother.

But we return with pleasure to the more legitimate object of our details. There was one subject of importance on which some prejudices on the part of the Sicilian government, prevented Sir William Hamilton from acquiring that knowledge which he thought might be interesting and useful to his country. A chamber in the royal museum of Portici had been set aside for containing the manuscripts, of which a small collection had been found in an edifice in Pompeii; and on the discovery that these calcined masses were genuine manuscripts of the days of Pliny, the greatest curiosity was manifested to acquire a knowledge of their contents. The government was assailed by strangers for the watchfulness with which these were kept from their view, and the little exertion which had been bestowed in divulging their contents: the latter accusation was perhaps scarcely just; some venerable adherents of the church of Rome did not hesitate to spend months of their own labour, in exposing to the world the sentences which an ancient Roman had taken a few minutes to compose. The public were soon made sufficiently acquainted with the subject to be disappointed at the exposure of a few sentences of the vilest of scholastic stuff; and the narrow-mindedness of which Sir William Hamilton had to complain, has been since discontinued, and England has had an opportunity of showing her skill in the art of unrolling papyrus. To acquire the information, for which he found the usual means unavailing, Sir William Hamilton entered into an agreement with father Anthony Piaggi, a Piarist monk, the most diligent of the decyphers, by which, in consideration of a salary of £100, the latter was to furnish the former with a weekly sheet of original information, which, to avoid ministerial detection, was to be written in cipher. The contract seems to have been executed to the satisfaction of both parties, and Sir William procured for father Anthony an addition to his salary, equal to the sum at which it was originally fixed; and on the death of the father in 1798, he bequeathed all his manuscripts and papers to his patron. Sir William Hamilton, on his visit to Britain in 1791, was created a privy councillor.—The circumstances which in 1798 compelled him to accompany the Sicilian court to Palermo, are matter of history, and need not be here repeated.—In the year 1800, he left Sicily, and soon afterwards, accompanied by captain Leake, and lieutenant Hayes, undertook a journey through Egypt, visiting and describing with great minuteness the city of Thebes, and the other well-known parts of that interesting country. The notes collected by him on this occasion were published after his death in the year 1809, under the title

"*Ægyptiaca, or Some Account of the Ancient and Modern State of Egypt, as obtained in the years 1801 and 1802, by William Hamilton, F. A. S.*"—"This work," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "will be found an excellent supplement to the more elaborate and costly work of Denon. His style is in general simple and unaffected; and therefore, loses nothing, in our opinion, when compared with that of some of the travellers who have gone before him." Sir William Hamilton died in April, 1803, in the 72nd year of his age. His death deprived the world of two great works which he hoped to have lived to prepare, on the subject of the museum of Portici.

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, a celebrated surgeon, and lecturer on anatomy and chemistry in the university of Glasgow. This meritorious individual was unfortunately cut off from the world too early in life, and too suddenly, to be enabled to give to the world those works on his favourite science, on which he might have founded his fame, and the circle of his influence and renown was hardly so extensive as to attract the attention of posterity; but a tribute to his memory, in the form of a memoir of his life, and remarks on his professional acquirements, read by his friend professor Cleghorn to the Royal Society of Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> and inserted in the transactions of that eminent body, justifies us in enumerating him among distinguished Scotsmen. William Hamilton was born in Glasgow, on the 31st July, 1758. His father was Thomas Hamilton, a respectable surgeon in Glasgow, and professor of anatomy and botany in that university; and his mother, daughter to Mr Anderson, professor of church history in the same institution. He followed the usual course of instruction in the grammar school and college of his native city, from which latter he took the degree of master of arts in 1775, at the age of seventeen. Being supposed to show an early predilection for the medical profession, he proceeded to Edinburgh, then at the height of its fame as a school for that science, where he studied under Cullen and Black, the early friends of his father. The bad health of his father recalled the young physician after two sessions spent in Edinburgh, and both proceeded on a tour to Bath, and thence to London, where the son was left to pursue his studies, with such an introduction to the notice of Dr William Hunter, as a schoolfellow acquaintanceship between his father and that distinguished man warranted. The prudence, carefulness, and regularity of the young man's conduct, while surrounded by the splendour and temptation of the metropolis, have been commended by his friends; these praiseworthy qualities, joined to a quick perception on professional subjects, and an anxiety to perfect himself in that branch of his profession which calls for the greatest zeal and enthusiasm on the part of the medical student, attracted the attention of his observing friend. He was requested to take up his residence in Dr Hunter's house, and finally was trusted with the important charge of the dissecting room, a valuable, and probably a delightful duty. He seems to have secured the good opinion he had gained, by his performance of this arduous and important function. "I see and hear much of him," says Dr Hunter, in his correspondence with the young man's father, "and every body regards him as sensible, diligent, sober, and of amiable dispositions."—"From being a favourite with every body, he has commanded every opportunity for improvement, which this great town afforded, during his stay here; for every body has been eager to oblige and encourage him. I can depend so much on him, in every way, that if any opportunity should offer of serving him, whatever may be in my power, I shall consider as doing a real pleasure to myself." Such were the character and prospects of one, who, it is to be feared, was then nourishing by too intense study the seeds of dissolution in a naturally feeble constitution. Soon after, the father's state of health

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 35, read 6th November, 1792.



imperiously requiring an assistant in his lectures, the son undertook that duty, and in 1781, on his father's final resignation, was nominated his successor, a circumstance which enabled his kind friend Dr Hunter to fulfill his former promise, by stating to the marquis of Graham, that he considered it "the interest of Glasgow to *give him*, rather than his to solicit the appointment." The father died in 1782, and the son was then left the successor to his lucrative and extensive practice, in addition to the duties of the university. During the short period of his enjoyment of these desirable situations, he received from the poorer people of Glasgow, the character, seldom improperly bestowed, of extending to them the assistance, which a physician of talent can so well bestow. He kept for the purpose of his lectures, and for his own improvement, a regular note-book of cases, which he summed up in a tabular digest at the termination of each year. Of these notes, he had before his death commenced such an arrangement as would enable him to form from them a system of surgery which he intended to have published. Some extracts from this collection are preserved by the biographer we have mentioned, as characteristics of the style of his composition, and the extent of his observation. In 1783, he married Miss Elizabeth Stirling, a lady accomplished, and of good connexions in Glasgow. Within a very few years after this event, the marked decay of his constitution alarmed his friends, and his knowledge as a physician enabled him to assure himself that death was steadily approaching. He died on the 13th day of March, 1790, in the 32d year of his age. Few, even of those who have departed in the pride of life—in the enjoyment of talents, hopes, and prosperity, seem to have caused greater regret, and it cannot be doubted that it was deserved. His manner as a public instructor is thus described by Mr Cleghorn: "As a lecturer, his manner was remarkably free from pomp and affectation. His language was simple and perspicuous, but so artless, that it appeared flat to those who place the beauty of language in the intricacy of arrangement, or the abundance of figures. His manner of speaking corresponded with his style, and was such as might appear uninteresting to those who think it impossible to be eloquent without violent gestures, and frequent variations of tone. He used nearly the tone of ordinary conversation, as his preceptor Dr Hunter did before him, aiming at perspicuity only, and trusting for attention to the importance of the subjects he treated."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, of Bangour, a poet of considerable merit, was the second son of James Hamilton, Esq. of Bangour, advocate, and was born at Bangour in 1704. He was descended from the Hamiltons of Little Earnock in Ayrshire; his great-grandfather James Hamilton, (second son of John Hamilton of Little Earnock,) being the founder of the family of Bangour. On the death of his brother (who married Elizabeth Dalrymple) without issue, in 1750, the subject of this memoir succeeded to the estate. Born in elevated circumstances and in polished society, Mr Hamilton received all the accomplishments which a liberal education, with these advantages, could afford; and although exposed, as all young persons of his rank usually are, to the light dissipations of gay life, he resisted every temptation, and in a great measure dedicated his time to the improvement of his mind. The state of his health, which was always delicate, and his natural temperament, leading him to prefer privacy and study to mixing frequently in society, he early acquired a taste for literature, and he soon obtained a thorough and extensive acquaintance with the best authors, ancient and modern. The leaning of his mind was towards poetry, and he early composed many pieces of distinguished merit. Encouraged by the approbation of his friends, as well as conscious of his own powers, he was easily induced to persevere in the cultivation of his poetic powers. Many of his

songs breathe the true spirit of Scottish melody, especially his far-famed "Braes of Yarrow."

Thus in calm retirement, and in the pursuit of knowledge, his life might have passed serenely, undisturbed by the calls of ambition or the toils and alarms of war, had it not been for the ill-judged but chivalrous attempt of an adventurous prince to recover the throne of his ancestors from what was considered the grasp of an usurper. At the commencement of the insurrection of 1745, Mr Hamilton, undeterred by the attainder and exile of his brother-in-law the earl of Carnwath,<sup>1</sup> for his share in the rebellion in 1715, took the side which all brave and generous men of a certain class in those days were apt to take; he joined the standard of prince Charles, and celebrated his first success at Prestonpans in the well-known Jacobite ode of "Gladsmuir." After the battle of Culloden, so disastrous to the prince and his followers, he fled to the mountain and the glen; and there for a time, endured much wandering and many hardships. Finally, however, he succeeded, with some others in the same proscribed situation, in escaping into France. But his exile was short. He had many friends and admirers among the adherents of king George, and through their intercession his pardon was speedily procured from government. He accordingly returned home, and resumed possession of his paternal estate. His health, however, at all times weak, by the hardships he had endured, as well as from his anxiety of mind, had now become doubly so, and required the benefit of a warmer climate. He therefore soon afterwards returned to the continent, and for the latter years of his life, took up his residence at Lyons, where a slow consumption carried him off, on the 25th March, 1754, in the fiftieth year of his age. His corpse was brought to Scotland, and interred in the Abbey church of Holyrood.

Mr Hamilton was twice married, into families of distinction, and by his first lady, a daughter of Sir James Hall of Dunglass, baronet, he had issue one son, James, who succeeded him.

Though Mr Hamilton's works do not place him among the highest class of Scottish poets, he is fully entitled to rank among those of a secondary order. What was much in his favour, certainly not in furtherance of his facility of composition, but as an advantage to his fame, is, that for a whole century previous to the time he began to write, few names of any consequence were known in Scottish poetry. From 1615 till 1715 no poet of any note—except only Drummond and Stirling—had appeared.

From the days of Buchanan, the only other poets we could then boast of, following the example of that leading intellect, had composed in a language utterly opposite to their own, in construction, copiousness, and facility—we mean the Latin: and inferior poets as well as inferior scholars to Hamilton, in compliance to the reigning fashion, continued to use that didactic and difficult language for the expression of their sentiments. Hamilton, therefore, had much to overcome in entering the lists as an original writer in his own language, the elegance, the purity, and the freedom, though perhaps not the force nor the energy, of which he understood so well. He was convinced that the greater part, if not the whole, of those authors who preferred composing in a dead language would be utterly unknown to posterity, except perhaps to a few of the literati and the learned. But at the dawn of the eighteenth century the scholastic spell was at length broken, and Hamilton and Ramsay were among the first who gave utterance to their feelings, the one in English and the other in his native Scottish dialect; and this perhaps, even to the present day constitutes the principal cause of their fame. It may safely be asserted that in the works of Hamilton and Ramsay there is more genuine poetry, than in the works of the whole century of

<sup>1</sup> The earl married, as his third wife, Margaret, the poet's sister.

Latin poets who preceded them; though this may be denied by those classic readers, who are still in the habit of poring into the lucubrations of those authors, the greater part of whom have long ceased to be known to the general reader, while the works of Hamilton and Ramsay are still read and admired.

Mr Hamilton's poems were first published by Foulis, at Glasgow, in 1748, 12mo, and afterwards reprinted; but this volume was a pirated publication, and appeared not only without his name, but without his consent, and even without his knowledge; and as might have been expected, it abounded in errors. He was then abroad, and it was thought the appearance of that collection would have produced from him a more perfect edition: but though on his return he corrected many errors, and considerably enlarged some of the poems, he did not live to furnish a new and complete edition. It remained therefore for his friends, after his death, to publish from his original manuscripts the first genuine and correct collection of his works. It appeared in one volume small 8vo, at Edinburgh, in 1760, with a head by Strange, who had been a fellow adventurer with him in the cause of prince Charles.

This volume did not at first attract any particular notice, and his poems were rapidly fading from public remembrance, when an attempt was made by the late professor Richardson of Glasgow, to direct the attention of the public to his merits. In a very able criticism from the pen of that gentleman which appeared in the *Lounger*, among other observations no less just, the following formed one of his principal remarks: "The poems of Hamilton display regular design, just sentiments, fanciful invention, pleasing sensibility, elegant diction, and smooth versification." Mr Richardson then enters into an analysis of Hamilton's principal poem of "Contemplation," or "the Triumph of Love." He descants chiefly on the quality of fanciful invention, as being the principal characteristic of poetical composition. He says "that Mr Hamilton's imagination is employed among beautiful and engaging, rather than among awful and magnificent images, and even when he presents us with dignified objects, he is more grave than lofty, more solemn than sublime."—"It is not asserted," continues Mr Richardson, in illustrating the 'pleasing sensibility' he ascribes to Hamilton, "that he displays those vehement tumults and ecstasies of passion that belong to the higher kind of lyric and dramatic composition. He is not shaken with excessive rage, nor melted with overwhelming sorrow; yet when he treats of grave or affecting subjects, he expresses a plaintive and engaging softness. He is never violent and abrupt, and is more tender than pathetic. Perhaps '*The Braes of Yarrow*,' one of the finest ballads ever written, may put in a claim to superior distinction. But even with this exception, I should think our poet more remarkable for engaging tenderness than for deep and affecting pathos. In like manner, when he expresses the joyful sentiments, or describes scenes and objects of festivity, which he does very often, he displays good humour and easy cheerfulness, rather than the transports of mirth or the brilliancy of wit."

Mr Richardson, in illustration of these characteristics, quotes some passages which convey the most favourable impression of Mr Hamilton's poetical powers.

Mr McKenzie, the ingenious editor of the *Lounger*, enforced the judgment pronounced by Mr Richardson, in a note, in which he not only fully agrees with him, but even goes farther in Mr Hamilton's praise. Lord Woodhouselee was also among the first to acknowledge his excellence and vindicate his fame. He thus speaks of Mr Hamilton in his life of lord Kames, "Mr Hamilton's mind is pictured in his verses. They are the easy and careless effusions of an elegant fancy, and a chastened taste; and the sentiments they convey are the genuine feelings of a tender and susceptible heart, which perpetually owned the dominion of some favourite mistress: but whose passion generally evaporated in song, and

made no serious or permanent impression. His poems had an additional charm to his contemporaries, from being commonly addressed to his familiar friends of either sex, by name. There are few minds insensible to the soothing flattery of a poet's record."

These authorities in Hamilton's favour are high and powerful, and it might have been expected that, with his own merits, they might have obtained for him a greater share of popularity than has fallen to his lot: but notwithstanding these and other no less favourable testimonies, the attention of the public was never steadily fixed upon his works. And although they have been inserted in Johnson and Chalmers' edition of the English poets, there has been no demand for a separate edition; nor is Hamilton among those writers, whom we often hear quoted by the learned or the gay.

As a first adventurer in English literature, rejecting altogether the scholastic school of poetry, Mr Hamilton must be allowed to have obtained no ordinary success. In his language he shows nearly all the purity of a native; his diction is various and powerful, and his versification but rarely tainted with provincial errors. He delights indeed in a class of words, which though not rejected by the best English writers, have a certain insipidity which only a refined English ear, perhaps, can perceive; such as *beauteous*, *dubious*, *duteous*, and even *melancholious*! The same peculiarity may be remarked of most of the early Scottish writers in the English language. In Thomson it is particularly observable. We also sometimes meet in Hamilton with false quantities; but they seem oftener to proceed from making a Procrustian of a poetic license, than from ignorance or inadvertence, as in the following verse:

"Where'er the beauteous heart-compeller moves,  
She scatters wide perdition all around:  
Blest with celestial form, and crown'd with loves,  
No single breast is *refractory* found."

If he had made the "*refractory*" precede the "*is*," so as to have rendered the latter the penultimate in this line, the euphony and the rhythm would have been complete: but in his days, we believe, this word was accented on the first syllable.

Lord Woodhouselee calls Hamilton's poems the "easy and *careless* effusions of an elegant fancy, and a chastened taste." This does not quite agree with the "*regular design*," which Richardson discovers in them; nor indeed with what his lordship himself tells us elsewhere, that "it appears from Hamilton's letters that he communicated his poems to his friends for their critical remarks, and was easily induced to alter or amend them by their advice. "*Contemplation*," for instance, he sent to Mr Home (lord Kames), with whom he lived in the closest habits of friendship, who suggested some alterations, which were thus acknowledged in a letter from Hamilton, dated July, 1739: "I have made the corrections on the moral part of '*Contemplation*,' and in a post I will send it to Will Crawford, who has the rest." Mr Hamilton had evidently too passionate a devotion to the muses, to be careless of his attentions to them. The writing of poetry, indeed, seems to have formed the chief business of his life. Almost the whole of his poems are of an amatory cast; and even in his more serious pieces, a tone of love, like a thread of silver, runs through them. It would seem, however, that to him love, with all its pangs, was only a poet's dream. Perhaps the following is the best illustration of the caprice and inconstancy of his affection. In a letter to Mr Home, dated September, 1748, in answer to one from that gentleman regarding some remarks on Horace, of the same tenor, it would appear, as those which he afterwards published in his *Elements of Criticism*, Mr

Hamilton after alluding to these remarks thus questions himself: "Why don't I rest contented with the small, perhaps, but sincere portion of that happiness furnished me *by my poetry*, and a few friends? Why concern myself to *please Jeanie Stewart*, or vex myself about that happier man, to whom the lottery of life may have assigned her. *Qui fit, Mæcenæ, quæ fit?* Whence comes it. Alas whence indeed?

' Too long by love, a wandering fire, misled,  
My better days in vain delusion fled:  
Day after day, year after year, withdrew,  
And beauty blest the minutes as they flew;  
Those hours consumed in joy, but lost to fame,  
With blushes I review, but dare not blame;  
A fault which easy pardon might receive,  
Did lovers judge, or could the wise forgive:  
But now to wisdom's healing springs I fly,  
And drink oblivion of each charming eye:  
To love revolted, quit each pleasing care,  
Whate'er was witty, or whate'er was fair.'

I am yours, &c."

The "Jeanie Stewart" above alluded to complained to Mr Home, that she was teased with Mr Hamilton's continually dangling after her. She was convinced, she said, that his attentions to her had no serious aim, and she hinted an earnest wish to get rid of him. "You are his friend," she added, "tell him he exposes both himself and me to the ridicule of our acquaintance."—"No, madam," said Mr Home, who knew how to appreciate the fervour of Mr Hamilton's passion, "you shall accomplish his cure yourself, and by the simplest method. Dance with him to-night at the assembly, and show him every mark of your kindness, as if you believed his passion sincere, and had resolved to favour his suit. Take my word for it, you'll hear no more of him." The lady adopted the counsel, and she had no reason to complain of the success of the experiment.<sup>1</sup>

In poetry, however, no one could paint a warmer love, or breathe a fiercer flame. In some rather conceited lines, "upon hearing his picture was in a lady's breast," he chides it for

"Engrossing all that beauteous heaven,  
That Chloe, lavish maid, has given;"

And then passionately exclaims, that, if he were the lord of that bosom—

"I'd be a miser too, nor give  
An alms to keep a god alive."

A noble burst of fancy and enthusiasm! A most expressive image of the boundless avarice of love.

Of Mr Hamilton's poems not devoted to love, the most deserving of notice is "The Episode of the Thistle," which appears intended as part of a larger work never completed, called "The Flowers." It is an ingenious attempt, by a well devised fable, to account for the selection of the thistle, as the national emblem of Scotland. The blank verse which he has chosen for this uncomplete poem, does not seem to have been altogether adapted to his powers; yet, on reading

<sup>1</sup> "Bonnie Jeanie Stewart of Torsonce," as she was here fully described in ordinary parlance, married the earl of Dundonald, and was mother of the late ingenious earl, so distinguished by his scientific investigations, and by the generally unfortunate tenor of his life.

the piece, we were equally surprised and pleased with the felicity and modulation of its language.

The only poem which Mr Hamilton wrote in his native dialect was the "Braes of Yarrow," which has been almost universally acknowledged to be one of the finest ballads ever written. But Mr Pinkerton, whose opinion of the ancient ballad poetry of Scotland has always had considerable weight, has passed a different judgment on it. "It is," says he, "in very bad taste, and quite unlike the ancient Scottish manner, being even inferior to the poorest of the old ballads with this title. His repeated words and lines causing an eternal jingle, his confused narration and affected pathos, throw this piece among the rubbish of poetry." The jingle and affected pathos of which he complains are sometimes indeed sickening.

"Lang maun she weep, lang maun she, maun she weep,  
Lang maun she weep with dule and sorrow," &c.  
"Then build, then build, ye sisters, sisters sad,  
Ye sisters sad, his tomb with sorrow," &c.

On the other hand, the isolated condemnation of Mr Pinkerton must be allowed to have little weight against the interest with which this poem has so significantly impressed Mr Wordsworth, as appears from his beautiful poems of "Yarrow Unvisited" and "Yarrow Visited."

There exists in manuscript another fragmentary poem by Mr Hamilton, called the "Maid of Gallowshiels." It is an epic of the heroi-comic kind, intended to celebrate the contest between a piper and a fiddler for the fair Maid of Gallowshiels. Mr Hamilton had evidently designed to extend it to twelve books, but has only completed the first and a portion of the second. Dr Leyden, who owns himself indebted to the friendship of Dr Robert Anderson for his knowledge of this MS., gives the following account of it in his preface to the "Complaynt of Scotland." "In the first (book) the fiddler challenges the piper to a trial of musical skill, and proposes that the maid herself should be the umpire of the contest.

'Sole in her breast, the favourite he shall reign  
Whose hand shall sweetest wake the warbled strain;  
And if to me th' ill-fated piper yield,  
As sure I trust, this well-contested field;  
High in the sacred dome his pipes I'll raise,  
The trophy of my fame to after days;  
That all may know, as they the pipes survey,  
The fiddler's deed, and this the signal day.  
All Gallowshiels the darling challenge heard,  
Full blank they stood, and for their piper fear'd:  
Fearless alone he rose in open view,  
And in the midst his sounding bagpipe threw.'

"The history of the two heroes is related with various episodes; and the piper deduces his origin from Colin of Gallowshiels, who bore the identical bagpipe at the battle of Harlaw, with which his descendant resolves to maintain the glory of the piper race. The second book, the subject of which is the trial of skill, commences with the following exquisite description of the bagpipe:

'Now, in his artful hand the bagpipe heft,  
Elate, the piper wide surveys the field;  
O'er all he throws his quick-discerning eyes,  
And views their hopes and fears alternate rise;

Old Glenderule, in Gallowshiels long fam'd  
 For works of skill, this perfect wonder fram'd ;  
 His shining steel first lopp'd, with dexterous toil,  
 From a tall spreading elm the branchy spoil ;  
 The clouded wood, he next divides in twain,  
 And smoothes them equal to an oval plain ;  
 Six leather folds in still connected rows  
 To either plank conform'd, the sides compose ;  
 The wimble perforates the base with care,  
 A destin'd passage opening to the air :  
 But once inclosed within the narrow space,  
 The opposing valve forbids the backward race ;  
 Fast to the swelling bag, two reeds combin'd,  
 Receive the blasts of the melodious wind ;  
 Round from the twining loom, with skill divine,  
 Embost, the joints in silver circles shine ;  
 In secret prison pent, the accents lie,  
 Untill his arm the lab'ring artist ply :  
 Then, duteous, they forsake their dark abode,  
 Felons no more, and wing a separate road ;  
 These upward through the narrow channel glide,  
 In ways unseen, a solemn murmuring tide :  
 Those through the narrow part their journey bend,  
 Of sweeter sort, and to the earth descend ;  
 O'er the small pipe at equal distance lie,  
 Eight shining holes, o'er which his fingers fly ;  
 From side to side the aerial spirit bounds,  
 The flying fingers form the passing sounds,  
 That, issuing gently through each polish'd door,  
 Mix with the common air, and charm no more.'

" This poem, however, does not seem ever to have been corrected, and the extracts we have given are from the first rude draft of it. It would be unfair, therefore, to consider it as a test of Mr Hamilton's powers, though had he lived to complete it, we do not doubt, from the germs of excellence it evinces, but that it would have been a fitter criterion than any other of his works."

Mr Hamilton's poems, notwithstanding the melody of his numbers and the gayety of his fancy, bear all the marks of studious productions ; and the ease which they undoubtedly possess, is the ease resulting from elaboration and art. To this, in a great measure, his circumstantiality of painting is to be attributed.

The measure which Mr Hamilton was most partial to, is the *octo-syllabic* ; and certainly this being the smoothest and most euphonious, it best suited the refinement of his mind. He sometimes, however, attempted the *deca-syllabic* measure ; but here, as in his soaring to a greater height in his subjects, he did not succeed so well. His blank verse, like his conception, is without grandeur—without ease—without dignity : it is surcharged, rugged, and verbose. Of this he was himself aware, for he seldom attempted to clothe his sentiments in the style which was perfected by Milton and Shakspeare.

Mr Hamilton's amatory poetry abounds with " quaint conceits," and pleasing fancies : for example, in dedicating " Contemplation" to a young lady, speaking of the effects of unsuccessful love, he says,

" Gloomy and dark the prospect round appears ;  
 Doubts spring from doubts, and fears engender fears,

Hope after hope goes out in endless night,  
 And all is anguish, torture, and affright.  
 Oh ! beauteous friend, a gentler fate be thine ;  
 Still may thy star with mildest influence shine ;  
 May heaven surround thee with peculiar care,  
 And make thee happy, as it made thee fair."

Again, speaking of mutual affection, he calls it

" A mutual warmth that glows from breast to breast,  
 Who loving is belov'd, and blessing blest."

Can any thing be finer than the following couplet, with which he concludes an ardent aspiration for her happiness ! " Such," he says, " be thy happy lot," is the fond wish of him,

" Whose faithful muse inspir'd the pious prayer,  
 And wearied heaven to keep thee in its care."

The poem of " Contemplation" itself is full of beauties. Among his odes there is one " to fancy," in which his lively imagination and exquisite delicacy of sentiment, shine out to the greatest advantage. His descriptions of female loveliness are worthy of the subject—they are characterized by sweetness, beauty, and truth. What can surpass this image ?

" Her soul, awak'ning every grace,  
 Is all abroad upon her face ;  
 In bloom of youth still to survive,  
 All charms are there, and all alive."

And in recording in his verses the name and the beauty of another of his mistresses, he says that " his song" will " make her live beyond the grave:"

" Thus Hume shall unborn hearts engage,  
 Her smile shall warm another age."

But with all this praise of his quieter and more engaging style, we must admit that his poems, even the most perfect, abound in errors. Many of his questions are very strange, nay some of them ludicrous :

" Ah ! when we see the bad preferr'd,  
 Was it eternal justice err'd."

" Or when the good could not prevail,  
 How could almighty prowess fail !"

" When time shall let his curtain fall,  
 Must dreary nothing swallow all !"

" Must we the unfinish'd piece deplore,  
 Ere half the pompous piece be o'er."

What is the meaning of these questions, or have they any ?

Mr Hamilton's correspondence with his friends was varied and extensive, but seldom very important. He wrote for writing's sake, and his letters, therefore, are just so many little pieces of friendly gossip. Of those poets who were his contemporaries, or who immediately succeeded him, some have taken notice of him in their works. The most distinguished of those is the unfortunate Fergusson, who in his " Hame Content," thus alludes to Hamilton on his death :

" O Bangour ! now the hills and dales,  
 Nae mair gie back thy tender tales ;



The birks on Yarrow now deplore,  
 Thy mournful muse has left the shore ;  
 Near what bright burn, or chrystal spring,  
 Did you your winsome whistle hing !  
 The Muse shall there, wi' wat'ry e'e,  
 Gie the dank swaird a tear for thee ;  
 And Yarrow's genius, dowy dame !  
 Shall there forget her blood-stain'd stream,  
 On thy sad grave to seek repose,  
 Wha mourn'd her fate, condol'd her woes."

Mr Hamilton of *Bangour* is sometimes mistaken for and identified with another poet of the same name, William Hamilton of *Gilbertfield* in Lanarkshire, a lieutenant in the navy, who was the friend and correspondent of Allan Ramsay, and the modernizer of Blind Harry's poem of Wallace. The compositions of this gentleman display much beauty, simplicity, and sweetness ; but he is neither so well known, nor entitled to be so, as the "Bard of Yarrow."

Mr Hamilton's private virtues were no less eminent than his poetical abilities. His piety, though fervent, was of that quiet and subdued cast that "does good by stealth, and blushes to find it fame." His manners were accomplished—indeed so much so, as to earn for him the title of "the elegant and amiable William Hamilton of Bangour."<sup>1</sup>

HART, ANDREW, deserves a place in this record, as one of the most distinguished of our early typographers. He flourished in the reign of James VI. Previous to 1600, he was in the habit of importing books from abroad ; he was at this time exclusively a bookseller. From a mere bookseller he seems to have gradually become a publisher : several books were printed in Holland about the years 1600 and 1601, "at his expense." Finally, he added the business of printing to his other dealings. The productions of his press specify that his shop was in the High Street of Edinburgh, on the north side, opposite the cross ; being, by a strange chance, the identical spot, from which Mr Archibald Constable, two hundred years after, issued so many noble efforts of Scottish genius. Hart's edition of the Bible, 1610, has always been admired for its fine typography. He also published a well-known edition of Barbour's Bruce. In addition to all other claims upon our praise, Hart was a worthy man. He died in a good old age, December, 1621, as we learn from a notice in Boyd of Trochrig's Obituary, quoted below.<sup>2</sup>

HENRY, the minstrel, more commonly styled BLIND HARRY, was a wandering poet of the fifteenth century, who wrote a well-known narrative of the life of Sir William Wallace.

The character of a wandering bard or minstrel was in early ages highly valued and honoured, although at a late period it fell into discredit. HENRY THE MINSTREL, or BLIND HARRY, had not the fortune to live during the sunshine of his profession ; for in the Scottish laws of his own time, we find *bards* classed with "vagabondis, fuilis, and sic like idill peopill ;" but the misfortune of his blindness, and the unquestionable excellence of his talents, would in all probability secure to him a degree of respect and attention which was not then generally bestowed on individuals of his class. Indeed, we learn from Major, that the most exalted in the land countenanced the minstrel, and that he recited his

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript, containing many poems by Hamilton which never saw the light, was in the possession of the late George Chalmers, Esq. author of "Caledonia." A list of them is given in the transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, vol. iii., where a portrait of Mr Hamilton has also been given.

<sup>2</sup> Le moy de Dec. 1621, mourut à Edin. le bon homme, Andrew Hart, impremeur et libraire ; décidé en bonne veillesse ; homme de bien et notre ancien amy.

poetical narratives before them. Major is the only writer from whom any information regarding Blind Harry is derived, and the meagreness of that information may be judged of, when it is known, that the whole is comprised in the following brief sentence. "Integrum librum Gullielmi Vallacei Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, meæ infantie tempore cudit; et quæ vulgo dicebantur, carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit; (ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior;) qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum et vestitum quo dignus erat nactus est."<sup>1</sup>—"Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy composed the whole *book of William Wallace*; and committed to writing in vulgar poetry, in which he was well skilled, the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these, however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment."

Brief, however, as this passage is, we gather from it the principal points of Henry's life—namely, that he was born blind—that he was well skilled in vernacular poetry—that he composed the book of William Wallace—and that by reciting it he procured food and raiment. The passage, also, is the only source from which we can learn the date of the poem or the period when its author flourished. Major was born in the year 1469, and as he says that the book of William Wallace was composed in his infancy, Blind Harry must have lived about that time, and the date of this work may be placed between 1470 and 1480. More than this, regarding the biography of a once popular poet, and one whose name is still familiar in the mouths of his countrymen, cannot be ascertained. Of the book itself, a few observations may be taken.

"That a man," says Mr Ellis,<sup>2</sup> *born blind* should excel in any science is extraordinary, though by no means without example: but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous; because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps, therefore, it may be easily assumed that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer, nor indeed to any poet of any age or country." The question of what a man *might* have been under certain circumstances, is one of assumption altogether, and is too frequently used by individuals regarding themselves as a salve for their indolence and imperfections. Neither can we admit that description is the *soul* of poetry: we consider it rather as the outward garb or frame-work of the divine art, which unless inspired by an inward spirit of contemplation, has no further charm than a chronicle or gazetteer. Milton was blind when he composed *Paradise Lost*, and although he had the advantage of Henry in that he *once* saw, yet we have often heard his calamity adduced, to increase our wonder and admiration of his great work, whereas, had he retained his eyesight, *Paradise Lost* would probably never have been finished, or, if finished, might not have proved, as it has done, one of the noblest productions which a human being ever laid before his fellow creatures. Although, however, we disapprove of assuming a possible excellence in Henry had he been blessed with vision, it would be unjust not to acknowledge the disadvantages under which his poem has come down to us. He himself could not write it; nor is there any probability that it was regularly taken down from his dictation; the incorrectness and unintelligibility of many of its passages rather prove that much of it must have been written from recollection, while editors have, in too many instances, from gross misapprehensions, succeeded in rendering absurd what was previously only obscure. With all this, the poem is still of extraordinary merit—and, as a poem, is superior to Barbour's or Winton's. In an historical light,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. lib. iv. c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> "Specimens of Early English Poets," vol. i.

doubtless, its value can never be put in competition with the works of the above authors ; it is rather a romance than a history, and is full of exaggerations and anachronisms ; the narrative Henry professes to have derived from a complete history of Wallace (now lost) written, in Latin, partly by John Blair and partly by Thomas Gray ; and this circumstance, if true, exculpates the poet from the *invention* at least of its manifold and manifest absurdities. His information seems to have been, for the period, respectable. In his poem he alludes to the history of Hector, of Alexander the Great, of Julius Cæsar, and of Charlemagne ; but without profiting from the character which these heroes exhibited in history, of policy combined with prowess and bravery, he has in his book taken the childish or gross conception of a warrior, and held up Sir William Wallace as a mere man of muscular strength and ferocity—capable of hewing down whole squadrons with his single arm, and delighting in the most merciless scenes of blood and slaughter. It is in this point that the Minstrel is so far inferior to Barbour. He is destitute of that fine balancing of character displayed by the latter, and those broad political views which render “The Bruce” as much a philosophical history as a poem.<sup>3</sup>

✓ HENDERSON, ALEXANDER, one of the most eminent of the many eminent men whose names are interwoven with the annals of Scotland at probably the most interesting period of her history, (the middle of the 17th century,) was born about the year 1583. He is supposed to have been descended from the Hendersons of Fordel, “a house,” says Wodrow, “of good quality in Fife.” Of his early life there is little farther known than that he was distinguished for his assiduity and progress in learning, in which he greatly excelled all his school fellows. Having been sent to the university of St Andrews to complete his studies, he there went through the ordinary routine of learning, but with much more than ordinary reputation, a circumstance sufficiently evinced by his having been made master of arts, and soon after admitted regent or professor of philosophy. As this appointment took place previous to the year 1611, when he could not not be more than eight and twenty years of age, it is evident that Henderson was already considered a man of no common attainments. The situation of professor of philosophy he held for several years, discharging its duties with a zeal and ability which acquired him much reputation.

It is not surprising to find, that at this period of his life he was a strenuous advocate for the dominant or episcopal party in the church. His patrons hitherto were of that party. He had long associated with men who entertained its principles, and, unable to foresee the great changes which were about to take place in the civil and religious polity of the kingdom, as well as that which afterwards happened in his own private sentiments, he naturally enough, while perfectly sincere in the opinions which he then entertained on religious matters, conceived besides, that in the direction of these opinions, and in that direction alone, lay the road to preferment. Inspired by the ambition of a mind conscious of its powers, Henderson, after the lapse of a few years, becoming impatient of the circumscribed sphere to which a professorship of philosophy confined

<sup>3</sup> In his late work, entitled “Lives of Scottish Worthies,” Mr P. F. Tytler has expressed his deliberate conviction, founded upon recent investigations, that the minstrel holds too low a rank as a credit-worthy historian. “I am persuaded,” says Mr Tytler, “that Wallace is the work of an ignorant man, who was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials. On what other supposition can we account for the fact, that whilst in one page we meet with errors which shew a deplorable perversion of history, in the next we find circumstances unknown to other Scottish historians, yet corroborated by authentic documents, by contemporary English annalists, by national monuments and records only published in modern times, and to which the minstrel cannot be supposed to have had access. The work, therefore, cannot be treated as an entire romance.” The ingenious historian then adduces a number of instances in which Henry’s statements are proved by lately discovered documents to have been correct.

him, turned his attention to divinity, as opening a wider field for the exercise of his talents.

After preparing himself for the ministerial calling, he was appointed to the church of Leuchars, in Fife, through the patronage of archbishop Gladstones. His appointment, however, was exceedingly unpopular: all his talents and learning could not reconcile his parishioners to a man introduced amongst them by episcopal influence, and who was known to be himself of that detested party. The consequence was, that on the day of his ordination he was received with every mark of popular dislike. The church doors were shut against him and carefully secured in the inside, to prevent all possibility of admittance. Determined, however, in despite of these very manifest tokens of public feeling, to perform the ceremony of ordination, Henderson's party entered the church by a window, and proceeded with the business of the day.

Whatever were Mr Henderson's other merits, and these were certainly of no ordinary kind, it is known that any extraordinary anxiety about the spiritual interests of his parishioners was not amongst the number. At this period of his life, in short, although not remarkable for the reverse, he seems to have been but slightly impressed with the sacredness of his new calling, and to have taken but little farther interest in matters of religion, than abiding by the general principles in which he had been educated. This conduct, however, and these sentiments were soon to undergo a remarkable change, and that under circumstances in themselves not less remarkable. Having learned that the celebrated Mr Bruce of Kinnaird was to assist at a communion in the neighbourhood of Leuchars, Henderson, desirous of hearing the preaching of a man who had long been conspicuous as an opponent of the court measures, and whose fame for peculiar gifts in matters of theology was widely spread, repaired to the church where he was officiating. Not choosing, however, to be recognized, he sought to conceal himself in a dark corner of the building. Bruce, nevertheless, seems to have been aware of his presence; or, if not, there was a singular coincidence in the applicability of the text which he chose, to the remarkable circumstances which attended Henderson's induction to his charge. Be this as it may, the sermon which followed made such a powerful impression upon him as effected an entire change in his religious conduct and sentiments; and from being a careless and indifferent pastor over his flock, and an upholder of a system odious in the highest degree to the people, he became a watchful and earnest minister, and a resolute champion in the cause of presbyterianism.

In three years after his appointment to Leuchars parish, which took place some time previous to the year 1615, Mr Henderson, though sedulous in the discharge of his ministerial duties since the period of his conversion, made no public appearance on the side of that party whose principles he had embraced. The opportunity, however, which was all that was wanting for his making such an appearance, at length presented itself. In August, 1618, the celebrated Five articles of Perth, which occasioned so much clamour in Scotland, from their containing as many points of episcopal worship, which James was desirous of thrusting on the people of that kingdom, having been carried by a packed majority in an assembly held at Perth, Henderson stood among the foremost of those who opposed, though unsuccessfully, the obnoxious measure; and this too, in defiance of the king's utmost wrath, with which all who resisted the adoption of the Five articles were threatened. "In case of your refusal," said the archbishop of St Andrews, addressing the assembled clergymen, "the whole order and estate of your church will be overthrown, some ministers will be banished, others will be deprived of their stipends and office, and all will be brought under the wrath of authority."

Not at all intimidated by this insolent and indecent threat, Henderson with several of his brethren courageously opposed the intended innovations. For this resistance, to which was added a charge of composing and publishing a book against the validity of the Perth assembly, he was with other two ministers summoned in the month of August, 1619, to appear before the court of High Commission in St Andrews. Obeying the summons, Henderson and his brethren presented themselves before the bishops, when the former conducted himself with such intrepidity, and discussed the various matters charged against him and his colleagues with such talent and force of reasoning, that his judges, though they eagerly sought it, could gain no advantage over him, and were obliged to content themselves with threatening, that if he again offended he should be more hardly dealt with. With this intimation Henderson and his friends were dismissed. From this period to the year 1637, he does not appear to have meddled much with any transactions of a public character. During this long period he lived retired, confining his exertions within the bounds of his own parish, in which he found sufficient employment from a careful and anxious discharge of his pastoral duties. Obscure and sequestered, however, as the place of his ministry was, his fame as a man of singular capacity, and as an eloquent and powerful debater, was already abroad and widely known; and when the hour of trial came, those talents were recollected, and their possessor called upon to employ them in the behalf of his religion.

Before, however, resuming the narrative of Mr Henderson's public career, it may be necessary to give a brief sketch of the circumstances which induced him to leave his retirement and to mingle once more in the religious distractions of the times. The unfortunate Charles I. inheriting all the religious as well as political prejudices of his father James VI. had, upon the moment of his accession to the throne, entertained the design of regulating church worship in Scotland by the forms observed in that of England. In this attempt he was only following out an idea of his father's; but what the one with more wisdom had little more than contemplated, the other determined to execute. Unfortunately for Charles he found but too zealous an abettor of his dangerous and injudicious designs in his favourite counsellor in church affairs, Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. Encouraged in the schemes of violence which he meditated against the religious prejudices of Scotland; and urged on to their execution by Laud, Charles, after a series of lesser inroads on the presbyterian mode of worship in Scotland, finally, and with a rash hand fired the train which he had prepared, and by which he set all Scotland in a blaze. This was the imposition of the Liturgy or Service Book on the church of Scotland. This celebrated book, which was principally composed by Wedderburn, bishop of Dunblane, and Maxwell, bishop of Ross, and afterwards revised by Laud, and Wren, bishop of Norwich, was grounded upon the book of common prayer used in England, but contained, besides, some parts of the catholic ritual, such as the benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints, the use of the cross in baptism and of the ring in the celebration of marriage, the consecration of water at particular times by prayer, with many other ordinances of a similar character. Most of these observances were introduced by Laud when revising the original work. When the book was completed, the king gave instructions to the archbishops and bishops regarding its introduction; and immediately after issued a proclamation requiring his subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, to conform to the mode of worship which it enjoined, concluding with an order that every parish should be furnished with two copies, between the publication of the injunction and Easter. The book itself, a large folio, was prefaced by a charge from the king, denouncing as rebels all who refused it. To complete the measure of Charles's rashness on the

subject of the service book, it was introduced into Scotland without having been submitted to presbyteries, and without the sanction of the General Assembly.

The consequence of the introduction of the liturgy, aggravated as it was by the manner of its introduction, was, as might have been expected, in the last degree serious and important. The country rose nearly to a man against the popish innovation. In Edinburgh the bishops who presided at the ceremony of its first introduction were mobbed and maltreated : and the ministers everywhere carefully prepared their congregations to resist the obnoxious volume. The whole land, in short, was agitated by one violent commotion, and the minds of men were roused into a state of feverish excitement, which threatened the most serious results. It was at this critical moment that Henderson came again upon the stage. In the same predicament with other clergymen, Henderson was charged to purchase two copies of the liturgy for the use of his parish within fifteen days, under the pain of rebellion. On receiving the charge, Henderson immediately proceeded to Edinburgh and presented a petition to the privy council, representing that the service book had not received the sanction of the General Assembly nor was authorized by any act of parliament ; that the church of Scotland was free and independent, and ought not to be dictated to except through her own pastors, who were the proper and the best judges of what was for her benefit ; that the form of worship received at the Reformation was still sanctioned by the legislature and the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, and could not be invaded excepting by the same authority ; that some of the ceremonies enjoined by the book had occasioned great divisions, and were extremely obnoxious to the people, who had been taught to hold them in abhorrence. This bold statement Henderson concluded by soliciting a suspension of the charge. What hope Henderson entertained that this supplication or rather remonstrance would be formally listened to by the privy council, cannot now be ascertained. There is no reason, however, to conclude, that he possessed any secret intelligence regarding the real dispositions of that body. The credit, therefore, must be awarded him of having come forward on this perilous occasion trusting to the strength of his cause alone, and fully prepared to meet the consequences, whatever they might be, of the step which he had taken. The result was more favourable than probably either Henderson or the country expected. The council granted the suspension required, until the king's further pleasure should be known ; but, for the remuneration of the king's printer, ordained by an express act, as the decision in Henderson's case was of course understood to apply to the whole kingdom, that each parish should provide itself with two copies of the book, but without any injunction to make use of them. The order for reading the liturgy was also suspended, until new instructions on the subject should be received from his majesty. The king's answer, however, to the representations of the privy council, at once overturned all hopes of concession in the matter of the liturgy. Instead of giving way to the general feeling, he repeated, in a still more peremptory manner than at first, his commands that the service book should be read, and farther ordered that no burgh should choose a magistrate which did not conform. This uncompromising and decided conduct on the part of the king was met by a similar spirit on the part of the people, and the path which Henderson had first taken was soon crowded by the highest and mightiest in the land, all pushing onward with the utmost eagerness and zeal to solicit the recall of the obnoxious liturgy, and discovering on each repulse and on the appearance of each successive obstacle to their wishes, a stronger and stronger disposition to have recourse to violence to accomplish their object, if supplication should fail. On the receipt of the king's last communication on the all-engrossing subject of the service book, the nobility, barons, ministers, and

representatives of boroughs, presented a supplication to the privy council, intreating that the matter might be again brought before the king. In this and in all other matters connected with it, Henderson took a leading part: he suggested and directed all the proceedings of the nonconformists; drew up their memorials and petitions, and was, in short, at once the head and right hand of his party, the deviser and executor of all their measures.

The result of this second supplication to the king was as unsatisfactory as the first. The infatuated monarch, urged on by Laud, and in some measure by erroneous impressions regarding the real state of matters in Scotland, still maintained his resolutions regarding the liturgy. He, however, now so far acknowledged the appeals which had been made to him, as to have recourse to evasion instead of direct opposition as at first, a course at all times more dangerous than its opposite; inasmuch, as while it exhibits all the hostility of the latter, it is entirely without its candour, and is destitute of that manfulness and promptitude, which, if it does not reconcile, is very apt to subdue.

In place of giving any direct answer to the supplication of the nobility and barons, the king instructed his privy council in Edinburgh to intimate to the people by proclamation, that there should be nothing regarding church matters treated of in the council for some time, and that, therefore, all persons who had come to Edinburgh on that account, should repair to their homes within twenty-four hours, on pain of being denounced rebels, *put to the horn*, and all their movable goods being escheat to the king. This proclamation was immediately followed by another, announcing an intended removal of the court of session from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and this again by a third, calling in, for the purpose of being burned, a pamphlet lately published against the service book.

These proclamations, which but too plainly intimated that nothing would be conceded to supplication, and that there was no hope of any change in the sentiments of the king, instantly called forth the most decided expressions of popular resentment and determination. The city was at this moment filled with strangers—noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and commissioners from the different parishes, besides immense numbers of persons of inferior rank, whom curiosity or interest in the engrossing topic of the day, had assembled in the metropolis from all parts of the country. The town, thus surcharged, as it were, with inflammable matter, soon became a scene of violence and insubordination. The leaders of the nonconformists again met in the midst of the storm, and in defiance of the proclamation which enjoined their departure, proceeded to deliberate upon the question of what was next to be done. The result was some farther supplications and petitions to the privy council and to the king. These, however, being still unsuccessful, were followed up some months afterwards by a determination to appeal to the people, to unite them in one common bond, and to make the cause at once and unequivocally, the cause of the whole nation. The leaders resolved to adopt a measure which should involve all in its results, be it for good or for evil; by which, in short, not a leader or leaders, nor a party, but an entire kingdom should stand or fall, by swearing before their God to peril the alternative.

This measure was a renewal of the national covenant of 1580 and 1581, adapted, by changes and additions, to the existing circumstances. The remodeled document was drawn up by Mr Henderson, with the assistance of the celebrated Archibald Johnstone, an advocate, and was first exhibited for signature, February 28th, 1638, in the Grey Friars' church in Edinburgh, where an immense multitude had assembled, for the purpose of hailing the sacred document, and of testifying their zeal in the cause which it was intended to support, by subscribing it. On this occasion Henderson addressed the people with so

much fervour and eloquence, that their feelings, already excited, were wound up to the highest pitch, and a degree of enthusiasm pervaded the multitude which sufficiently assured their leaders of the popularity of their cause. The instrument itself, which was now submitted for signature, was a roll of parchment four feet long and three feet eight inches broad; yet such was the general zeal for the covenant, that this immense sheet was in a short time so crowded with names on both sides throughout its whole space, that there was not room latterly for a single additional signature; even the margin was scrawled over with subscriptions, and as the document filled up, the subscribers were limited to the initial letters of their names. Copies were now sent to different parts of the kingdom, and met every where, excepting in three places to be afterwards named, with the same enthusiastic reception which had marked its appearance in Edinburgh, receiving thousands of signatures wherever it was exhibited. The three excepted places were Glasgow, St Andrews, and Aberdeen. In the two former, however, the feeling regarding the covenant amounted to little more than indifference; but in the latter city it was absolutely resisted. Anxious to have the voice of all Scotland with them, and especially desirous that there should not be so important an exception as Aberdeen, the leaders of the covenanters despatched several noblemen and two clergymen, one of whom was Henderson, to that city, to attempt to reclaim it; and this object, chiefly through the powerful eloquence of the subject of this memoir, they accomplished to a very considerable extent, obtaining no less than five hundred signatures, many of them of the highest respectability, immediately after the close of a discourse by Mr Henderson, in which he had urged the most irresistible arguments for the subscribing of the covenant. Mr Henderson was now universally acknowledged as the head of the nonconforming Scottish clergy. On his moderation, firmness, and talent, they reposed their hopes; and to his judgment they left, with implicit confidence, the guidance and direction of their united efforts. Of this feeling towards him they were now about to afford a remarkable proof. The king, though still without any intention of yielding to the demands of the covenanters, having consented that a General Assembly should be held, empowered his commissioner, the marquis of Hamilton, to convoke it. On the second day of the meeting of this celebrated assembly, which sat down at Glasgow on the 21st November, 1638, Mr Henderson was chosen moderator, without one single dissenting voice. To form a correct idea of the general esteem for his amiable qualities, and the appreciation of his abilities which this appointment implied, it is necessary to consider all the singular and important circumstances connected with it—circumstances which altogether rendered it one of the utmost delicacy, difficulty, and hazard. He was, at a moment of the most formidable religious distraction, called upon to preside over an assembly whose decisions were either to allay or to promote that distraction; who were to discuss points of serious difference between their sovereign and the nation; who were to decide, in short, whether the nation was to proclaim open war against their sovereign—a sovereign backed by a nation of much greater power and larger population; an assembly by whose proceedings the religious liberties of the kingdom were either to stand or fall, and one, in consequence, on which the eyes of the whole people were fixed with a gaze of the deepest and most intense interest. Important, however, and responsible as the appointment was, Henderson was found more than equal to it, for he conducted himself on this trying occasion not only with a prudence and resolution which increased the respect and admiration of his own party for his character and talents, but with a forbearance and urbanity which secured him also the esteem of those who were opposed to them. “We have now” said Henderson at the conclusion of the eloquent and impassioned



address which terminated the sittings of the assembly, "we have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite:" a sentence which comprised typically all that had been done and all that would be done in the event of such an attempt being made. Episcopacy was overthrown, the king's authority put at defiance, and such an attitude of hostility to the court assumed as fell short only of a declaration of open war.

Such was the accession of popularity which Henderson's conduct procured him on this occasion, that, a day or two before the rising of the assembly, two supplications were given in from two different places earnestly soliciting his pastoral services, the one from St Andrews, the other from Edinburgh. Henderson himself was extremely unwilling to obey either of these calls. Strongly attached to Leuchars, the charge to which he had been first appointed, and which he had now held for many years, he could not reconcile himself to the idea of a removal, pleading in figurative but highly expressive language, that "he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil." The supplicants, however, with a flattering perseverance pressed their suits, and after a strenuous contest between the two parties who sought his ministry, he acquiesced in a removal to Edinburgh; in favour of which the competition terminated by a majority of seventy-five votes. He only stipulated, that when old age should overtake him, he should be permitted to remove again to a country charge. Soon after his removal to Edinburgh, he was promoted to be, what was then called, first or king's minister. This change, however, in no way abated his zeal in the cause of the covenant; he still continued to be the oracle of his party, and still stood with undisputed and unrivalled influence at the head of the church as now once more reformed.

In the year after his translation to Edinburgh (1639) he was one of the commissioners deputed by the Scottish army, then encamped on Dunse Law, to treat with the king, who, with his forces, had taken post at the Birks, a plain on the English side of the Tweed, within three or four miles of Berwick. During the whole of the various negotiations which took place at this critical and interesting conjuncture, Henderson conducted himself with his usual ability, and moreover with a prudence and candour which did not escape the notice of the king. One of the well known results of these conferences was the meeting in Edinburgh of the General Assembly in the following month of August. On this occasion the earl of Traquair, who was now his majesty's commissioner, was extremely desirous that Mr Henderson should be re-elected moderator, a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held by men of all parties. The idea, however, of a constant moderatorship was exceedingly unpopular, and contrary to the constitution of the church; and the suggestion of Traquair was overruled to the entire satisfaction of Mr Henderson himself, who was one of the most strenuous opponents of the proposition. As former moderator, however, he preached to the assembly, and towards the close of his discourse, addressed the earl of Traquair—"We beseech your grace," he said, "to see that Cæsar have his own; but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your grace unto many high places within these few years, and is still doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. When the Israelites came out of Egypt they gave all the silver and gold they had carried thence for the building of the tabernacle; in like manner your grace must employ all your parts and endowments for building up the church of God in this land." He next addressed the members, urging them to persevere in the good cause, but carefully inculcating prudence and moderation in all their doings; for zeal, he said, without these, was "like a ship that hath a full sail, but no rudder."

On the 31st of the same month, (August,) Mr Henderson was called upon to preside, in his clerical capacity, at the opening of the parliament, and on that occasion delivered a most impressive discourse, in which he treated of the duties and utility of governors with singular ability and judgment.

A proof still more flattering, perhaps, than any he had yet received of the estimation in which his character and talents were held, was afforded him in the following year, (1640.) Previous to this period the college of Edinburgh was without any presiding officer to regulate its affairs, these receiving only such attention as might result from an annual visit of the town council. As this was little more than a visit of ceremony, the system of education, and almost every thing else connected with the university, was in a most deplorable condition. To remedy these evils the town council came to the resolution of having a rector appointed, to be chosen annually, and whose duty it should be to direct all matters connected with the college, to keep an eye on the conduct of the principal and professors, and to superintend the education of the students, and the disposal of the revenues.

To this honourable and highly responsible office Mr Henderson was unanimously elected; an appointment not more indicative of the general opinion entertained of his moral qualities, than of his learning and abilities; for besides the merely legislative duties which were connected with it, the rector, by the constitution of the office, was to be invited by the preses at all solemn meetings of the college, "to go before the rest in all public disputes of philosophy and divinity."

Mr Henderson, notwithstanding his other various and important avocations, discharged the duties of this office with an attention, ability, and judgment, which soon placed the university on a very different footing from what it had hitherto been. He added to and improved its buildings and its approaches, bestowed especial care on the education of candidates for the ministry, instituted a professorship of oriental languages, a department which had previously been greatly neglected, to the serious injury, in particular, of the students of divinity, whose knowledge of the Hebrew was left to be gleaned from one short weekly lecture on that language; and, in short, he overlooked nothing which could contribute to its interests and prosperity. His own personal influence, together with the high respectability which his sagacious administration had procured for the college, was so great, that the citizens of Edinburgh, with a spirit of emulation which was very far from existing before, strove who should most contribute to the accommodation of its members. The consequence of these judicious and important services was, that Mr Henderson was continued, by re-election, in the office of rector till his death.

From these peaceful pursuits Henderson was occasionally directed to take a share in the renewed distractions of the times. The king having refused to ratify some of the points agreed upon at the Birks, both parties again took up arms: Charles denouncing the covenanters as rebels, marched towards Scotland with an army; while the latter, with three or four and twenty thousand men, penetrated into England. Some partial successes of the Scottish army on this occasion, together with some defections in his own, again brought the unfortunate monarch to pacificatory terms with the covenanters. A conference was begun at Rippon, and afterwards, as the king's presence was required in London, transferred to that city. The commissioners who were despatched thither by the covenanters to conclude the conference, took with them several of the most popular of the clergy, and amongst these was Mr Henderson, on whose talents they relied for all the subsidiary efforts which were at once to bring the conference to an issue satisfactory to themselves, and to impress the English with a favour-

able opinion of their cause. Both of these objects they accomplished, and that in no small measure by means of the impressive eloquence and literary talents of Mr Henderson, who, besides exerting himself in the pulpit and elsewhere in forwarding the views of the commissioners by discourses and lectures, wrote also several able tracts and papers which attracted much attention, and produced important effects in favour of the cause which he had come to support.

During Mr Henderson's stay in London on this occasion, he had an interview with the king, by whom he was graciously received. The conference was a private one, and although on the part of Henderson it was sought specially for the purpose of soliciting a favour for the university of Edinburgh, it is not unlikely that it embraced objects of much greater interest. On his return to Edinburgh in July, 1641, having been detained in London nine months, he was again chosen moderator of the General Assembly, then sitting at Edinburgh, and which had removed thither from St Andrews, where it first met, for the greater conveniency of the nobles who were attending parliament, and, a striking proof of his importance, that it might at this critical period have the advantages of Mr Henderson's services as moderator.

On this occasion Mr Henderson delivered to the assembly a letter from a number of ministers in London, requesting the advice of their Scottish brethren on certain points of church government. In some perplexity they had written, "That almighty God having now of his infinite goodness raised up our hopes of removing the yoke of episcopacy, (under which we have so long groaned,) sundry other forms of church government are by sundry sorts of men projected to be set up in the room thereof." Henderson was instructed to reply to this letter. In his answer he expressed, in the name of the assembly, the deep interest which they took in the state of what they called, by a somewhat startling association of words, the kirk of England, and earnestly urged a uniformity in church government throughout Britain. Soon after this (14th August) the unfortunate Charles arrived in Edinburgh. Foreseeing the approaching war between himself and his English parliament, he had come down to Scotland with the humiliating view of paying court to the leaders of the presbyterian faction, and of following up, by personal condescensions, the concessions by which he had already recovered, for the time at least, the favour of that party; thus hoping to secure the aid of Scotland when he should be assailed by his subjects at home;—the unhappy monarch's situation thus much resembling that of a bird closely pursued by a hawk, and which, preferring a lesser to a greater evil, flies to man for protection. On this occasion the king appointed Mr Henderson his chaplain, and by this well judged proceeding at once gratified the people, whose favourite preacher he had long been, and not improbably also gratified his own predilection in his favour, resulting from Henderson's temper and moderation in those instances where they had been brought in contact. Henderson constantly attended the king during the time of his residence in Edinburgh, praying every morning and evening before him, and preaching to him in the chapel royal at Holyrood house every Sunday, or standing by his chair when another performed that duty. Henderson, who, although of incorruptible integrity, and a zealous presbyterian, as the share which he took in the struggles of that party sufficiently witness, was yet a mild and humane man, could not help sympathizing with the sorrows of his unfortunate sovereign. The religion of which he was so eminent a professor, taught him to entertain charitable and benevolent feelings toward all mankind, and his was not the disposition to except an humbled and unhappy prince from this universal precept, whatever were the faults which had placed him in these melancholy circumstances. The mild and amiable disposition of the man, too, which frequent interviews must have forced upon Henderson's notice, must

have in some measure obliterated in his mind the errors of the monarch. It was hard, then, that Henderson for this sympathy, for opening his heart to the best feelings of humanity, for practising one of the first and most amiable virtues which the Christian religion teaches and enjoins, should have been, as he was, subjected to the most bitter calumnies on his character and motives. These calumnies affected his pure and generous nature deeply, and in the next assembly he entered into a long and impassioned defence of those parts of his conduct which slander had assailed. His appeal touched the hearts and excited the sympathy of his brethren, who assured him of their unshaken confidence in his integrity.

This assurance restored the worthy divine to that cheerfulness of which the injurious reports which had gone abroad regarding him had for some time deprived him. If any thing were wanting to establish Henderson's character for integrity besides the public testimony of his brethren, it is to be found in the opinion of one who widely differed from him regarding the measures of the day, bearing witness that "his great honesty and unparalleled abilities to serve this church and kingdom, did ever remain untainted."

In 1642, Mr Henderson conducted the correspondence with England which now took place on the subject of ecclesiastical reformation and union, and was soon after desired to hold himself in readiness with certain other commissioners to proceed to England, in the event of such a proceeding being necessary. After some delay, occasioned by the open rupture which took place between the king and the English parliament, Henderson, with the other commissioners, set out for the sister kingdom. While there he used every effort, but unfortunately to no purpose, to effect a reconciliation between Charles and his English subjects; he proposed to the king to send the queen to Scotland, with the view of exciting an interest in his behalf. He even went to Oxford, where the king then was, to endeavour to prevail upon him at a personal interview, to make some advances towards a reconciliation, and at the same time to offer him the mediation of Scotland. All his efforts, however, were unavailing; the king, in place of acknowledging error, endeavoured to defend the justice of his cause, and on better grounds expressed high indignation at the interference of the Scots in the church reformation of England. Finding he could be of no further service, Henderson, together with his colleagues, returned to Edinburgh, where his conduct throughout the whole of this delicate mission was pronounced by the General Assembly to have been "faithful and wise." In 1643, he was once more chosen moderator of the General Assembly under peculiar circumstances. This was the presence in that body of the English commissioners sent down to Scotland by the parliament of England, to solicit the aid and counsel of the former in their present emergency. Mr Henderson, with several other commissioners, was soon after sent up to London to attend the celebrated Westminster assembly of divines, to represent in that assembly the church of Scotland, and to procure its assent, with that of both houses of parliament, to the solemn league and covenant, all of which important duties, with the assistance of his colleagues, he discharged with his usual ability and judgment. On this occasion he remained for three years in London, during all which time he was unremittingly employed in assisting the assembly in preparing the public formularies of the religious union between the three kingdoms. In 1645, he was appointed to assist the commissioners of the Scottish and English parliaments to treat with the king at Uxbridge, and finally, was deputed to negotiate with the latter when his fortunes had reached a crisis, at Newcastle. Henderson arrived on his mission at Newcastle about the middle of May, 1646, and met with a cordial reception from his majesty. After some

discussion on religious subjects, it was agreed that the scruples of the king should be treated of in a series of papers written alternately by his majesty and Henderson. In the last of these papers, addressed by the former to the latter, and all of which and on both sides were written with great talent, the king at once expressing his high opinion of Mr Henderson, and his determination to adhere to the sentiments which he had all along entertained, says, "For instance, I think you the best preacher in Newcastle, yet I believe you may err, and possibly a better preacher may come, but till then must retain my opinion." Immediately after this, Henderson, whose health was now much impaired, returned to Edinburgh by sea, being unable to bear the fatigue of travelling by land. The illness with which he was afflicted rapidly gained upon him, and he at length expired on the 19th of August, 1646, in the 63d year of his age, not many days after his return from Newcastle. After the death of this celebrated man, his memory was assailed by several absurd and unfounded calumnies. It was alleged that he died of mortification at his having been defeated in the controversy with the king; others asserted that he had been converted by the latter, and that on his death-bed he had expressed regret for the part he had acted, and had renounced presbytery. All of these charges were completely refuted by the General Assembly, who, taking a becoming and zealous interest in the good name of their departed brother, established his innocence on the testimony of several clergymen, and still more decisively by that of the two who attended him on his death-bed, and who heard him in his last moments pray earnestly for a "happy conclusion to the great and wonderful work of Reformation." Henderson was interred in the Grayfriars' church-yard, where a monument was erected to his memory by his nephew Mr George Henderson. This monument, which was in the form of an obelisk, with suitable inscriptions<sup>1</sup> on its four sides, was, with others of the leading covenanters, demolished at the Restoration, but was again replaced at the Revolution.

This sketch of one of the most eminent divines that Scotland has produced cannot be better concluded than in the eloquent and accurate summation of his character by the Rev. George Cook, in his "History of the Church of Scotland." "In Henderson," says that judicious and able writer, "the church and the kingdom experienced a severe loss. He had from an early period acquired a decided ascendancy over ecclesiastical proceedings, and with considerable learning and great talents he conjoined a justness of sentiment and a moderation which, though not sufficient to stem the torrent, often gave to it a salutary direction. Zealous for his party, and deeply impressed with the importance of setting bounds to the prerogative, he cordially joined in the measures requisite for doing so, but there is every reason to believe that had his life been preserved, he would have exerted himself to restrain the violent dissensions and the unchristian practices which ere long disgraced those with whom he had associated, and that he would gladly have contributed to rescue his unfortunate sovereign from the melancholy fate which awaited him. His death was justly lamented by the covenanters. They had been accustomed to venerate him as their guide; they had left to him the choice of the most difficult steps, which, in resisting episcopal tyranny, they had been compelled to take; his memory was associated with one of the most interesting struggles in which his countrymen had ever been engaged, and they honoured that memory by every expression of esteem,

<sup>1</sup> The east side of the monument is thus inscribed, "To the sacred memory of Mr Alexander Henderson, chaplain to the king, minister at Edinburgh, and primar of the college there, who was a scholar at St Andrews college, and a bountiful enlarger and patron thereof." On the inscription on the north side he is described as "a godly man and truly great; illustrious in all manner of virtue, piety, learning, and prudence, equally beloved by the king and estates of both kingdoms."

transmitting by monumental inscriptions and by solicitude, to rescue him from misrepresentation, their deep regret that they were for ever deprived of his assistance which their critical situation and the highly agitated state of the public mind would then have rendered peculiarly important."

HENRY, (Dr) ROBERT, an eminent historian, was born in the parish of St Ninians in Stirlingshire, on the 18th of February, 1718;—his father was James Henry, a respectable farmer in Muirtown of the same parish, who had married the daughter of Mr Galloway of Burrowmeadow in Stirlingshire. As a respectable farmer's son, young Henry enjoyed opportunities of instruction beyond the average of those who study for the church in Scotland, and he found little difficulty in indulging his inclination to become a member of a learned profession. He commenced his education under Mr Nicholson of the parish school of St Ninians, and having attended the grammar school of Stirling, perfected himself in his literary and philosophical studies at the university of Edinburgh. After leaving that institution, he occupied himself in teaching, the usual resource of the expectants of the Scottish church, and became master of the grammar school of Annan. The district in which he was so employed was soon afterwards erected into a separate presbytery, and Henry was admitted as its first licentiate, on the 27th of March, 1746. In 1748, he was ordained as clergyman of a congregation of presbyterians at Carlisle. Here he remained for twelve years, when he was transferred to a similar dissenting congregation at Berwick upon Tweed. In 1763, he married Ann Balderston, daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick. Little is said of this lady by Henry's biographers, except in reference to the domestic happiness she conferred on her husband. During his residence at Berwick, Dr Henry applied his active mind to the preparation of a scheme for establishing a fund to assist the widows and orphans of the dissenting clergymen in the north of England. The admirable fund which had some time previously been so firmly and successfully established for bestowing similar benefits on the families of the clergy of Scotland, formed the model of his imitation; but in assimilating the situation of a dissenting to that of an established church, he laboured under the usual difficulties of those who raise a social fabric which the laws will not recognize and protect. The funds which, in Scotland, were supplied by the annual contribution of the clergy, enforced by act of parliament, depended, in the English institution, on the social and provident spirit of its members. The perseverance of Henry overcame many of the practical difficulties thus thrown in his way: the fund was placed on a permanent footing in the year 1762, and Henry, having for some years undertaken its management, had afterwards the satisfaction to see it flourish, and increase in stability and usefulness as he advanced in years. The design of his elaborate history, which must have gradually developed itself in the course of his early studies, is said to have been finally formed during his residence in Berwick, and he commenced a course of inquiry and reading, which he found that the resources of a provincial town, and the assistance of his literary friends in more favoured situations, were quite incapable of supplying for a subject so vast and intricate, as that of a complete history of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar. In this situation Dr Henry found a useful friend in Mr Laurie, provost of Edinburgh, who had married his sister. The interest of this gentleman procured for his brother-in-law, in the year 1768, an appointment to the ministry of the new Grey Friar's church in Edinburgh, whence, in 1776, he was removed to the collegiate charge of the Old Church.

In the extensive public libraries of Edinburgh, Dr Henry found means of prosecuting his researches with effect. The first volume of his history was published in quarto in the year 1771, the second appeared in 1774, the third in 1777,

the fourth in 1781, and the fifth in 1785. The method of treating the subject was original and bold, and one the assumption of which left the author no excuse for ignorance on any subject which had the slightest connexion with the customs, intellects, and history of our forefathers, or the constitution of the kingdom. The subject was in the first place divided into periods, which were considered separately, each period occupying a volume. The volume was divided into seven chapters, each containing a distinct subject, linked to the corresponding subject in the next volume by continuance of narrative, and to the other chapters of the same volume by identity of the period discussed. The subjects thus separated were—1st, The simple narrative of the civil and military transactions of the country—2d, The ecclesiastical history—3d, The information which is generally called constitutional, narrating and accounting for the rise of the peculiarities in the form of government, the laws, and the courts of justice—4th, The state of learning, or rather the state of literature which may be called purely scholastic, excluding the fine arts, and constitutional and political information—5th, The history and state of arts and manufactures—6th, A history of commerce, including the state of shipping, coin, and the prices of commodities; and lastly, The history of the manners, customs, amusements, and costumes of the people.—The writer of a book on any subject on which he is well informed, will generally choose that manner of explaining his ideas best suited to his information and comprehension. It may be questioned whether the plan pursued by Henry was adapted for the highest class of historical composition, and if the other great historians who flourished along with him, would have improved their works by following his complicated and elaborate system. It is true that mere narrative, uninterwoven with reflection, and such information as allows us to look into the hearts of the actors, is a gift entirely divested of the qualities which make it useful; but there are various means of qualifying the narrative—some have given their constitutional information in notes, or detached passages; others have woven it beautifully into the narrative, and presenting us with the full picture of the times broadly and truly coloured, have prevented the mind from distracting itself by searching for the motives of actions through bare narrative in one part of the work, and a variety of influencing motives to be found scattered through another. The plan, which we may say was invented by Dr Henry, has only been once imitated, (unless it can be said that the acute and laborious Hallam has partly followed his arrangement.) The imitator was a Scotsman, the subject he encountered still more extensive than that of Henry, and the ignorance the author displayed in some of its minute branches excited ridicule. This is an instance of the chief danger of the system. The acquisition of a sufficient amount of information, and regularity in the arrangement, are the matters most to be attended to; Henry's good sense taught him the latter, his perseverance accomplished the former, and the author made a complete and useful work, inferior, certainly, as a great literary production, to the works of those more gifted historians who mingled reflection with the current of their narrative, but better suited to an intellect which did not soar above the trammels of such a division of subject, and which might have fallen into confusion without them.

The circumstances of the first appearance of the earlier volumes of this useful book are interesting to the world, from their having raised against the author a storm of hostility and deadly animosity almost unmatched in the annals of literary warfare. The chief persecutor, and grand master of this inquisition on reputation, was the irascible Dr Gilbert Stuart. The cause of his animosity against a worthy and inoffensive man, can only be accounted for by those whose penetration may find its way to the depths of literary jealousy.

The letters of Stuart on the subject, have been carefully collected by D'l's-raeli, and published in his "Calamities of Authors," and when coupled with such traces of the influence of the persecutor as are to be found scattered here and there among the various periodicals of the age, furnish us with the painful picture of a man of intelligence and liberality, made a fiend by literary hate. Stuart commenced his dark work in the "Edinburgh Magazine and Review," established under his auspices in 1773. Dr Henry had preached before the Society (in Scotland) for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a sermon entitled "Revelation the most effectual means of civilizing and reforming mankind," and in pursuance of the custom on such occasions, the sermon was published. The sermon was as similar to all others of its class, as any given piece of mechanism can be to all others intended for similar purposes; but Stuart discovered audacity in the attempt, and unexpected failure in the execution; it required "the union of philosophy and political skill, of erudition and eloquence, qualities which he was *sorry* to observe appeared here in *no* eminent degree."<sup>1</sup> Dr Macqueen published a letter in an anonymous form, defending the sermon, and the hidden literary assassin boldly maintained it to be the work of Dr Henry, an accusation not withdrawn till the respectable author announced himself to the world. Dr Henry was soon after appointed by the magistrates to the situation of morning lecturer to the Tron church. Under the disguise of the communication of a correspondent, who mildly hints that the consequence of the proceeding will be a suit against the magistrates, we find the rounded periods of Stuart denouncing the act in those terms in which indignant virtue traces the mazes of vice and deceit, as "affording a precedent from which the mortifications of the pious, may be impiously prostituted to uses to which they were never intended." In token of high respect, the General Assembly had chosen Dr Henry as their moderator, on his first return as a member of that venerable body; and being thus marked out as a leader in the affairs of the church, he took a considerable share in the proceedings of the ensuing session. Here his enemy keeps an unsleeping eye on his motions. Whilst the speeches of others are unnoticed or reported in their native simplicity, the narrator prepares himself for the handling of a choice morsel when he approaches the historian. "The opinion of one member," he observes, "we shall lay before the reader, on account of its singularity. It is that of Dr Henry, the moderator of last assembly;"<sup>2</sup> and then he proceeds to attract the finger of scorn towards opinions as ordinary as any opinions could well be conceived. The Doctor cannot even absent himself from a meeting without the circumstance being remarked, and a cause assigned which will admit the application of a pre-concerted sneer. Dr Robertson was the opponent of Dr Henry in this assembly. The periodical writer was the enemy of both, and his ingenuity has been taxed to bestow ridicule on both parties. Stuart at length slowly approaches the head and front of his victim's offending, and fixes on it with deadly eagerness. After having attacked the other vulnerable points of the author, he rushes ravenously on his history, and attempts its demolition. He finds that the unfortunate author "neither furnishes entertainment nor instruction. Diffuse, vulgar, and ungrammatical, he strips history of all her ornaments. His concessions are evidently contradictory to his conclusions. It is thus perpetually with authors who examine subjects which they cannot comprehend. He has amassed all the refuse and lumber of the times he would record." "The mind of his readers is affected with no agreeable emotions, it is awakened only to disgust

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, i. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, i. 357.



and fatigue."<sup>3</sup> But Stuart was not content with persecution at home, he wished to add the weapons of others to his own. For this purpose he procured a worthy associate, Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, and author of the "Genuine History of the Britons." Stuart, a vague theorist in elegant and sonorous diction, who was weak enough to believe that his servile imitations of Montesquieu raised him to a parallel with that great man, associated himself in this work of charity with a minute and pugnacious antiquary, useful to literature from the sheer labour he had encountered, but eminently subject to the prejudices to which those who confine their laborious investigations to one narrow branch of knowledge, are exposed;—a person who would expend many quarto pages in discussing a flint arrow-head or a tumulus of stones, occasionally attempting with a broken wing to follow the flights of Gibbon, but generally as flat and sterile as the plains in which he strove to trace Roman encampments; two more ungenial spirits hardly ever attempted to work in concert. It may easily be supposed that the minute antiquary looked with jealousy on the extended theories of his generalizing colleague; and the generalizer, though he took occasion to praise the petty investigations of the antiquary, probably regarded them in secret with a similar contempt. But Stuart found the natural malignity of Whitaker a useful commodity; and the calm good sense of Henry afforded them a common object of hatred. A few extracts will give the best display of the spirit of Stuart's communications to his friends during his machinations. "David Hume wants to review Henry: but that task is so precious, that I will undertake it myself. Moses, were he to ask it as a favour, should not have it; yea, not even the man after God's own heart. I wish I could transport myself to London to review him for the Monthly—a fire there, and in the Critical, would perfectly annihilate him. Could you do nothing in the latter? To the former I suppose David Hume has transcribed the criticism he intended for us. It is precious, and would divert you. I keep a proof of it in my cabinet, for the amusement of friends. This great philosopher begins to dote."<sup>4</sup> To-morrow morning Henry sets off for London, with immense hopes of selling his history. I wish sincerely that I could enter Holborn the same hour with him. He should have a repeated fire to combat with. I entreat that you may be so kind as to let him feel some of your thunder. I shall never forget the favour. If Whitaker is in London, he could give a blow. Paterson will give him a knock. Strike by all means. The wretch will tremble, grow pale, and return with a consciousness of his debility. I have a thousand thanks to give you for your insertion of the paper in the London Chronicle, and for the part you propose to act in regard to Henry. I could wish that you knew for certain his being in London before you strike the first

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, vol. i. p. 266—270.

<sup>4</sup> D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors, ii. 67. The author appends in a note "The critique on Henry, in the Monthly Review, was written by Hume, and because the philosopher was candid, he is here said to have doted." We suspect this is erroneous, and founded on mere presumption. We have carefully read the two critiques on Henry in the Monthly Review, which appeared previous to Hume's death. The elegance and profundity of Hume are wanting, and in giving an opinion of the work, which is moderate and tolerably just, the Reviewer compares it somewhat disparagingly with the works of Hume and Robertson, a piece of conceit and affectation which the great philosopher would not have condescended to perpetrate. That Hume prepared and published a Review of Henry's book we have no doubt. In the Edinburgh Magazine for 1791, and in the Gentleman's Magazine for the same year, a critique is quoted, the work "of one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the same periods justly possesses the highest reputation." Without the aid of such a statement, the style stamps the author, and we may have occasion to quote it in the text as the work of Hume. Where it made its first appearance, a search through the principal periodicals of the day has not enabled us to discover. It is in the first person singular, and may have been in the form of a letter to the editor of a newspaper.

blow. An inquiry at Cadell's will give this. When you have an enemy to attack, I shall in return give my best assistance, and aim at him a mortal blow; and rush forward to his overthrow, though the flames of hell should start up to oppose me."

Henry was not in possession of the poisoned weapons which would have enabled him to retaliate, and his good sense and equanimity of mind were no permanent protection against assaults so unceasing and virulent. He felt himself the personal subject of ridicule and perversion, his expected gains denied, and the fame which he expected from years of labour and retirement snatched from his grasp by the hand of a ruffian.<sup>5</sup> In the midst of these adversities Henry went to London for actual shelter, but the watchful enemy observed his motions—attacks were inserted in one print and copied into another—the influence of his persecutor is widely perceptible in the periodical literature of the age. The *Critical Review* had praised the first volume of his history. The second meets with a very different reception: "it is with pain the reviewer observes, that in proportion as his narrative and inquiries are applied to cultivated times, his diligence and labour seem to relax," and a long list of alleged inaccuracies, chiefly on minute and disputed points, follows: the style is evidently not the natural language of the pompous Stuart, but it is got up in obedience to his directions on the vulnerable points of the historian, and the minuteness hints at the hand of Whitaker. Henry answered by a moderate letter defending his opinions, and acknowledging one mistake. The reviewer returns to his work with renovated vigour, and among other things accuses the historian of wilfully perverting authority. The charge of dishonesty rouses the calm divine, and with some severity he produces the words of the authority, and the use he has made of them. The editor claims the merit of candour for printing the communication, and as there is no gainsaying the fact it contains, appends an obscure hint which seems to intimate he knows more than he chooses to tell; a mode of backing out of a mistake not uncommon in periodical works, as if the editorial dignity were of so delicate a nature as not to bear a candid and honourable confession of error. Years afterwards, it is singular to discover the *Critical Review* returning to its original tone, and lauding the presence of qualities of which it had found occasion to censure the want. Stuart associated himself with his friend Whitaker in conducting the *English Review* in 1783, and it is singular, that amidst the devastation of that irascible periodical, no blow is aimed at Henry. But Stuart did not neglect his duty in the *Political Herald*, published in 1785, an able disturber of the tranquillity of literature, of which he was the sole conductor. Here he gave his last and deepest stab; accusing the venerable historian in terms the most bitter and vituperative, of a hankering after language and ideas, unworthy of his profession; concluding with the observation that "an extreme attention to smut in a presbyterian clergyman, who has reached the last scene of his life, is a deformity so shocking, that no language of reprobation is strong enough to chastise it."<sup>6</sup> The heartless insinuation was probably dictated by the consciousness that, whether true or false, no charge would be more acutely felt by the simple-minded divine. Stuart had, however, a very acute eye towards the real failings of Henry, and in his Protean attacks, he has scarcely left one of them without a brand. It was not without reason that he said to his London correspondent, "If you would only transcribe his jests, it would make him perfectly ridiculous." Henry was fond of garrish-

<sup>5</sup> Behold the triumph of the calumniator in the success of his labours: "I see every day that what is written to a man's disparagement is never forgot nor forgiven. Poor Henry is on the point of death, and his friends declare that I have killed him; I received the information as a compliment, and begged they would not do me so much honour." *D'Israeli's Calamities*, ii. 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Political Herald*, v. i. p. 209.

ing with a few sallies of wit, his pictures of human folly ; but he was unhappy in the bold attempt. They had too much pleasing simplicity and good-humoured grotesqueness for the purpose to which they were applied. More like the good-natured humour of Goldsmith, than the piercing sarcasm of Voltaire, they might have served to strike the lighter foibles exhibited in our daily path ; but to attack the grander follies of mankind displayed in history, it may be said they did not possess sufficient venom to make formidable so light a weapon as wit.

We have been so much engrossed with the dreary details of malignity, that we will scarcely find room for many other details of Henry's life ; but the history of the book is the history of the author—in its fate is included all that the world need care to know, of the unassuming individual who composed it. It is with pleasure, then, that we turn to the brighter side ; Henry calmly weathered out the storm which assailed him, and in his green old age, the world smiled upon his labours. Hume, who had so successfully trod the same field, was the first to meet Henry's book with a welcome hearty and sincere ; he knew the difficulties of the task, and if he was sufficiently acute to observe that Henry was far behind himself, neither jealousy nor conceit provoked him to give utterance to such feelings. " His historical narratives," says this able judge, " are as full as those remote times seem to demand, and at the same time, his inquiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing which can be an object of doubt or curiosity. The one as well as the other is delivered with great perspicuity, and no less propriety, which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing ; all superfluous embellishments are avoided ; and the reader will hardly find in our language any performance that unites together so perfectly the two great points of entertainment and instruction." Dr Henry had printed the first edition of the first five volumes of his book at his own risk, but on a demand for a new edition, he entered into a transaction with a bookseller, which returned him £3300. In the middle of its career the work secured royal attention ; lord Mansfield recommended the author to George the Third, and his majesty " considering his distinguished talents, and great literary merit, and the importance of the very useful and laborious work in which he was so successfully engaged, as titles to his royal countenance and favour," bestowed on him a pension of a £100 a-year. For the honour of royal munificence, it is to be hoped that the gift was the reward of labour and literary merit, and not (as the author's enemies have proclaimed) the wages of the political principles he inculcated. The insinuation is, indeed, not without apparent foundation. Henry, if not a perverter of history in favour of arbitrary power, is at least one of those prudent speculators who are apt to look on government as something established on fixed and permanent principles, to which all opposing interests must give way—on the government as something highly respectable,—on the mass of the people as something not quite so respectable—on the community as existing for the government, and not on the government as adapted to the conveniences of the community.

Five volumes of Dr Henry's history appeared before his death, and the ample materials he had left for the completion of the sixth were afterwards edited by Mr Laing, and a continuation was written by Mr Petit Andrews. The laborious author prepared the whole for the press with his own hand, notwithstanding a tremulous disorder, which compelled him to write on a book placed on his knee. In the latter years of his life, he retired to Milnfield, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the company of his friend and relative, Mr Laurie. In 1786, his constitution began visibly to decline ; but he continued his labours till 1790. About that period his wife was affected with blindness from a cataract, and he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where she submitted to the usual operation, which, however, had not the desired effect during her husband's life-

time. Dr Henry died on the 24th of November, 1790, in the 73d year of his age.—The fifth edition of the History of Britain was published in 1823, in twelve volumes 8vo. A French translation was published in 1789—96, by MM. Rowland and Cantwell.

HENRYSON, EDWARD, LL.D., an eminent civilian and classical scholar, and a senator of the College of Justice. The period of the birth of this eminent man is unknown, but it must have taken place early in the sixteenth century. Previously to the year 1551, we find him connecting himself, as most Scotsmen of talent and education at that period did, with the learned men on the continent, and distinguishing himself in his knowledge of civil law, a science which, although it was the foundation of the greater part of the municipal law of Scotland, he could have no ready means of acquiring in his own country. This study he pursued at the university of Bruges, under the tuition of Equinar Baro, an eminent civilian, with whom he afterwards lived on terms of intimacy and strong attachment. It is probable that he owed to this individual his introduction to a munificent patron, who afterwards watched and assisted his progress in the world. Ulric Fugger, lord of Kirchberg and Weissenhomie, a Tyrolese nobleman, who had previously distinguished himself as the patron of the eminent Scottish civilian, Scrimger, extended an apparently ample literary patronage to Henryson, admitting him to reside within his castle, amidst an ample assortment of valuable books and manuscripts, and bestowing on him a regular pension. Henryson afterwards dedicated his works to his patron, and the circumstance that Baro inscribed some of his commentaries on the Roman law to the same individual, prompts us to think it probable that Henryson owed the notice of Fugger to the recommendation of his kind preceptor.<sup>1</sup> Dempster, who in his life of Henryson, as usual, refers to authors who never mention his name, and some of whom indeed wrote before he had acquired any celebrity, maintains that he translated into Latin (probably about this period, and while he resided in Fugger's castle) the "*Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorum*" of Plutarch; and that he did so must be credited, as the work is mentioned in Quesnel's *Bibliotheca Thluana*; but the book appears to have dropped out of the circle of literature, and it is not now to be found in any public library we are aware of. In the year 1552, he returned to Scotland, where he appears to have practised as an advocate. The protection and hospitality he had formerly received from the Tyrolese nobleman, was continued to him by Henry Sinclair, then dean of Glasgow, afterwards bishop of Ross, and president of the Court of Session;—thus situated, he is said to have translated the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, and the *Commentaries* of Arrian; but the fruit of his labours was never published, and the manuscript is not known to be in existence. Again Henryson returned to the continent, after having remained in his native country for a short period, and the hospitable mansion of Fugger was once more open for his reception. About this period Baro, whom we have mentioned as Henryson's instructor in law, published a *Tractatus* on Jurisdiction, which met an attack from the civilian Govea, which, according to the opinion expressed by Henryson, as an opponent, did more honour to his talents than to his equanimity and candour. Henryson defended his master, in a controversial pamphlet of some length, entering with vehemence into the minute distinctions which, at that period, distracted the intellects of the most eminent jurisconsults. This work is dedicated to his patron Fugger. He was in 1554 chosen professor of the civil law at Bruges, a university in which one who wrote a century later states him to have left behind him a strong recollection of his talents and virtues. In 1555, he published another work on civil law, entitled "*Commentatio in Tit. X. Libri*

<sup>1</sup> Vide the dedication to *Tractatus de Jurisdictione Henrysoni*, Meerman's *Thesaurus*, vol. ii.

*Secundi Institutionum de Testamentis Ordinandis.*" It is a sort of running commentary on the title of which it professes to treat; was dedicated to Michael D'Hospital, chancellor of France, and had the good fortune along with his previous *Tractatus*, to be engrossed in the great *Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici* of Gerard Meerman, an honour which has attached itself to the works of few Scottish civilians. Henryson appears, soon after the publication of this work, to have resigned his professorship at Bruges, and to have returned to Scotland, where lucrative prospects were opened to his ambition.

A very noble feature in the history of the Scottish courts of law, is the attention with which the legislature in early periods provided for the interests of the poor. Soon after the erection of the College of Justice, an advocate was named and paid, for conducting the cases of those whose pecuniary circumstances did not permit them to conduct a law-suit; and Henryson was in 1557 appointed to the situation of counsel for the poor, as to a great public office, receiving as a salary £20 Scots, no very considerable sum even at that period, but equal to one-half of the salary allowed to the lord advocate. When the judicial privileges which the Roman catholic clergy had gradually engrossed from the judicature of the country, were considered no longer the indispensable duties and privileges of churchmen, but more fit for the care of temporal judges, Henryson was appointed in 1563 to the office of commissary, with a salary of 300 merks. Secretary Maitland of Lethington having in January, 1566, been appointed an *ordinary*, in place of being an *extraordinary*, lord of session, Henryson was appointed in his stead, filling a situation seldom so well bestowed, and generally, instead of being filled by a profound legal scholar, reserved for such scions of great families, as the government could not easily employ otherwise. Henryson was nominated one of the commission appointed in May, 1566, "for viseing, correcting, and imprenting the Laws and Acts of parliament." Of the rather carelessly arranged volume of the Acts of the Scottish parliament, from 1424 to 1564, which the commission produced in six months after its appointment, he was the ostensible editor, and wrote the preface; and it was probably as holding such a situation, or in reward for his services, that in June, 1566, he received an exclusive privilege and license "to imprent or cause imprent and sell, the Lawis and Actis of Parliament; that is to say, the bukes of Law callit Regiam Majestatem, and the remanent auld Lawis and Actis of Parliament, consequentlie maid be progress of time unto the dait of thir presentis, viseit, sychtit, and correctit, be the lordis commissaris speciallie deput to the said viseing, sychting, and correcting thair of, and that for the space of ten yeires next to cum."<sup>2</sup> In November, 1567, he was removed from the bench, or, in the words of a contemporary, taken "off sessions, because he was one of the king's council."<sup>3</sup> This is the only intimation we have of his having held such an office; and it is a rather singular cause of removal, as the king's advocate was then entitled to sit on the bench, and was frequently chosen from among the lords of session. Henryson was one of the procurators for the church in 1573. The period of his death is not known, but he must have been alive in 1579, as lord Forbes at that time petitioned parliament that he might be appointed one of the commissioners for deciding the differences betwixt the Forbeses and Gordons.

Henryson has received high praise as a jurisconsult, by some of his brethren of the continent, and Dempster considered him—"Solis Papinianis in juris cognitione inferior." A monument was erected to his memory in the Grey Friars' churchyard of Edinburgh, by his son Thomas Henryson, lord Chesters, who is said by Dempster and others to have displayed many of the legal and other qualifications of his father.

<sup>2</sup> Reports from the Record Commission, i. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Denmiln MS.—Haig and Brunton's History of the College of Justice, 133.

HENRYSON, or HENDERSON, ROBERT, a poet of the fifteenth century, is described as having been chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and this is almost the only particular of his life that is sufficiently ascertained. According to one writer, he was a notary public, as well as a schoolmaster; and another is inclined to identify him with Henryson of Fordell, the father of James Henryson who was king's advocate and justice clerk, and who perished in the fatal battle of Flodden. This very dubious account seems to have originated with Sir Robert Douglas; who avers that Robert Henryson appears to have been a person of distinction in the reign of James the Third, and that he was the father of the king's advocate. Douglas refers to a certain charter, granted by the abbot of Dunfermline in 1478, where Robert Henryson subscribes as a witness;<sup>1</sup> but in this charter he certainly appears without any particular distinction, as he merely attests it in the character of a notary public. A later writer is still more inaccurate when he pretends that the same witness is described as Robert Henryson of Fordell;<sup>2</sup> in this and other two charters which occur in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, he is described as a notary public, without any other addition.<sup>3</sup> That the notary public, the schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and the proprietor of Fordell, were one and the same individual, is by no means to be admitted upon such slender and defective evidence. Henryson, or, according to its more modern and less correct form, Henderson, was not at that period an uncommon surname. It is not however improbable that the schoolmaster may have exercised the profession of a notary. While the canon law prevailed in Scotland, this profession was generally exercised by ecclesiastics, and some vestiges of the ancient practice are still to be traced; every notary designates himself a *clerk* of a particular diocese; and by the act of 1584, which under the penalty of deprivation prohibited the clergy from following the profession of the law, they still retained the power of making testaments; so that we continue to admit the rule of the canon law, which sustains a will attested by the parish priest and two or three witnesses.<sup>4</sup> If therefore Henryson was a notary, it is highly probable that he was also an ecclesiastic, and if he was an ecclesiastic, he could not well leave any legitimate offspring. The poet, in one of his works, describes himself as "ane man of age;" and from Sir Francis Kinaston we learn that "being very old he died of a diarrhæ or fluxe." With respect to the period of his decease, it is at least certain that he died before Dunbar, who in his Lament, printed in the year 1508, commemorates him among other departed poets:

" In Dunfermling he hes tane Broun,  
With gude Mr Robert Henrysoun."

The compositions of Henryson evince a poetical fancy, and, for the period when he lived, an elegant simplicity of taste. He has carefully avoided that cumbrous and vitiated diction which began to prevail among the Scottish as well as the English poets. To his power of poetical conception he unites no inconsiderable skill in versification: his lines, if divested of their uncouth orthography, might often be mistaken for those of a much more modern poet. His principal work is the collection of Fables, thirteen in number, which are written in a pleasing manner, and are frequently distinguished by their arch simplicity; but in compositions of this nature, brevity is a quality which may be considered

<sup>1</sup> Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i. p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Chartulary of Dunfermline, f. 64. a.—Robert Henryson is a witness to other two charters which occur in the same record, f. 63. a. b. His only mark of distinction is that of being designated *Magister*, while the names of several other witnesses appear without this title. He had perhaps taken the degree of master of arts.

<sup>4</sup> Decretal. Gregorii IX. lib. iii. tit. xxvi. cap. x.

as almost indispensable, nor can it be denied that those of Henryson sometimes extend to too great a length. The collection is introduced by a prologue, and another is prefixed to the fable of the lion and the mouse.

The tale of Vpoulands Mouse and the Burgesse Mouse may be regarded as one of his happiest efforts in this department. The same tale, which is borrowed from Æsop, has been told by many other poets, ancient as well as modern. Babrias has despatched the story of the two mice in a few verses, but Henryson has extended it over a surface of several pages. Henryson's Tale of Sir Chauntecleire and the Foxe is evidently borrowed from Chaucer's Nonnes Preestes Tale. From these apologues some curious fragments of information may be gleaned. That of the Sheepe and the Dog, contains all the particulars of an action before the consistory court, and probably as complete an exposure of such transactions as the author could prudently hazard. The proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts seem about this period to have been felt as a common grievance.

Another conspicuous production of Henryson is the Testament of Cresseid,<sup>5</sup> which is the sequel to Chaucer's Troilus and Creseyde, and is commonly printed among the works of that poet. It evidently rises above the ordinary standard of that period, and on some occasions evinces no mean felicity of conception. The silent interview between Troilus and Cresseid is skilfully delineated; and the entire passage has been described as beautiful by a very competent judge of old poetry.<sup>6</sup> It is unnecessary to remark that for "the tale of Troy divine," neither Chaucer nor Henryson had recourse to the classical sources: this, like some other subjects of ancient history, had been invested with all the characteristics of modern romance; nor could the Scottish poet be expected to deviate from the models which delighted his contemporaries. Sir Troilus is commended for his knightly piety; a temple is converted into a *kirk*; Mercury is elected speaker of the parliament; and Cresseid, on being afflicted with a leprosy, is consigned to a spittal-house, in order to beg with cup and clapper. The personages are ancient, but the institutions and manners are all modern.

Henryson's tale of Orpheus is not free from similar incongruities, and possesses fewer attractions; it is indeed somewhat languid and feeble, and may have been a lucubration of the author's old age. Sir Orpheus is represented as a king of Thrace, and is first despatched to heaven in search of the lost Eurydice.

Quhen endit was the sangis lamentable,  
He tuke his harp, that on his breast can hyng,  
Syne passit to the hevin, as sais the fable,  
To seke his wyf, bot that auailit no thing:

<sup>5</sup> The Testament of Cresseid, compylit be Mr Robert Henrysone, Sculemaister in Dunfermling. Imprentit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1593, 4to.—"Ffor the author of this supplement," says Sir Francis Kinaston, "called the Testament of Cresseid, which may passe for the sixt and last booke of this story, I have very sufficiently bin informed by Sr. Tho. Ereskin, late earle of Kelly, and divers aged schollers of the Scottish nation, that it was made and written by one Mr Robert Henderson, sometime chiefe schoole-master, in Dumfermling, much about the time that Chaucer was first printed and dedicated to King Henry the 8th by Mr Thinne, which was neere the end of his raigne. This Mr Henderson wittily observing that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Cresseid, he learnedly takes upon him, in a fine poetically way, to expres the punishment and end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery." See the Loves of Troilus and Creseid, written by Chaucer; with a Commentary by Sir Francis Kinaston, p. xxix. Lond. 1796, 8vo. Kinaston had translated into Latin rhyme two books of Chaucer's poem, and had published them under the title of *Amorum Troili et Creseida libri duo priores Anglico-Latini*, Oxoniae, 1635, 4to. He completed his version of the poem, together with a commentary; and his manuscript at length came into the possession of Mr Waldron, who announced his intention of committing it to the press, but did not find encouragement to proceed beyond a short specimen.

<sup>6</sup> Scott's Notes to Sir Tristrem, p. 362.

By Wadlyng strete<sup>7</sup> he went but taryng,  
 Syne come down throu the spere of Saturn ald,  
 Quhilk fader is of all thir sternis cold.

Having searched the sun and planets without success, he directs his course towards the earth, and in his passage is regaled with the music of the spheres. His subsequent adventures are circumstantially, but not very poetically detailed. In enumerating the various characters whom he finds in the domains of Pluto, the poet is guilty of a glaring anachronism: here Orpheus finds Julius Cæsar, Nero, and even popes and cardinals; and it is likewise to be remarked that the heathen and Christian notions of hell are blended together. But such anachronisms are very frequently to be found in the writers of the middle ages. Mr Warton remarks that Chaucer has been guilty of a very diverting, and what may be termed a double anachronism, by representing Cresseid and two of her female companions as reading the *Thebaid* of Statius.<sup>8</sup> Like the fables of Henryson, his tale of Orpheus is followed by a long moral; and here he professes to have derived his materials from Boethius and one of his commentators.

The *Bludy Serk* is an allegorical poem of considerable ingenuity. The poet represents the fair daughter of an ancient and worthy king as having been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a dungeon, where she was doomed to linger until some valiant knight should achieve her deliverance. A worthy prince at length appeared as her champion, vanquished the giant, and thrust him into his own loathsome dungeon. Having restored the damsel to her father, he felt that he had received a mortal wound: he requested her to retain his bloody shirt, and to contemplate it whenever a new lover should present himself. It is unnecessary to add that the interpretation of this allegory involves the high mysteries of the Christian faith.

The *Abbey Walk* is of a solemn character, and is not altogether incapable of impressing the imagination. Its object is to inculcate submission to the various dispensations of Providence, and this theme is managed with some degree of skill. But the most beautiful of Henryson's productions is *Robene and Makyne*, the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry in the Scottish language. I consider it as superior in many respects to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne; it is free from the glaring improprieties which sometimes appear in the pastorals of those more recent writers, and it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation. The shepherd's indifference is indeed too suddenly converted into love; but this is almost the only instance in which the operations of nature are not faithfully represented. The story is skilfully conducted, the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral, and the diction possesses wonderful terseness and suavity.

The *Fables* of Henryson were reprinted in 1832, for the Bannatyne Club,<sup>9</sup> from the edition of Andrew Hart; of which the only copy known to exist had been recently added to that great repository of Scottish literature, the Advocates' Library.

<sup>7</sup> Watling-street is a name given to one of the great Roman ways in Britain. (Horsley's *Roman Antiquities of Britain*, p. 387. Lond. 1732, fol.) This passage, which to some persons may appear so unintelligible, will be best explained by a quotation from Chaucer's *House of Fame*, b. ii.

Lo, quod he, caste vp thyne eye,  
 Se yonder, lo, the Galaxye,  
 The whiche men clepe the Milky Way,  
 For it is whyte; and some perfay  
 Callen it Watlynge strete.

<sup>8</sup> In Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, says Mr Douce, "Hector quotes Aristotle, Ulysses speaks of the bull-bearing Milo, and Pandarus of a man born in April. Friday and Sunday, and even minced-pies with dates in them, are introduced." (*Illustrations of Shakspeare*, vol. ii. p. 291.)

<sup>9</sup> From the accurate memoir prefixed to this volume, we have, by the kind permission of the



✓ HEPBURN, JAMES BONAVENTURA, of the order of the Minims, said to have been an extensive linguist, lexicographer, grammarian, and biblical commentator. When the historian and biographer happens within the range of his subjects, to find accounts of occurrences evidently problematical, and as evidently based on truths, while he can discover no data for the separation of truth from falsehood, his critical powers are taxed to no inconsiderable extent. There are three several memoirs of the individual under consideration. The first is to be found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, of Dempster, an author whose veracity we have already had occasion to characterize. Another is in the *Lives of Scots Writers*, by Dr George M'Kenzie, a work to which we have made occasional allusions, and which shall hereafter receive due discussion; and the third is in the *European Magazine* for 1795, from the pen of Dr Lettice. Dempster's account is short and meagre, except in the enumeration of the great linguist's works; the second is as ample as any one need desire; and the third adds nothing to the two preceding, except the facetious remarks of the author. Among other authorities which might have given some account of his writings, or at least hinted at the existence of such a person, all we can discover bearing reference to any of his twenty-nine elaborate works, is the slight notice we shall presently allude to. According to M'Kenzie, "Dempster says that he is mentioned with great honour by Vincentius Blancus, a noble Venetian in his *Book of Letters*;" on reference to Dempster, the apparently extensive subject shrinks into "*De Literis in manubrio cultelli sancti Petri*." Now we might have suspected that Dempster had intended to perpetrate a practical joke in the choice of a name, had we not, after considerable research, discovered that there is such a discussion on the pen knife of St Peter in existence, from the pen of Vincenzo Bianchi, a Venetian;<sup>1</sup> to this rare work, however, we have not been so fortunate as to obtain access, the only copy of it, of which we have been enabled to trace the existence, being in the library of the British museum, and we must leave the information it may afford on the life of Hepburn to some more fortunate investigator. M'Kenzie farther states that "he is highly commended by that learned Dr of the canon law, James Gaffarel, in his book of *Unheard of Curiosities*;" on turning to this curious volume, we find the author "highly recommending" *Heurnius* and his book, "*Antiquitatum Philosophiæ Barbaricæ*."<sup>2</sup> But unfortunately for the fame of our linguist, the author of that book was Otho Heurnius, or Otho Van Heurn, a native of Utrecht, and son and successor to the celebrated physician Ian Van Heurn. We now turn with some satisfaction to the only firm ground we have, on which to place the bare existence of Hepburn as an author. In the *Bibliotheca Latino-Hebraica* of Imbonatus,<sup>3</sup> amidst the other numberless forgotten books and names, it is mentioned in a few words that "*Bonaventura Hepburnus Scotus ord. min.*" wrote a small Hebrew lexicon, printed in duodecimo: its description shows it to have been a small and trifling

editor, Dr Irving, abridged the above article. In the *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, Mr P. F. Tytler has entered at considerable length into the merits of Henryson's poetry, of which he gives copious extracts. He says—"of the works of this remarkable man it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour, which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself—he is altogether excellent."

<sup>1</sup> Vincenzo Bianchi *Parere intorno alli caratteri che sono sopra il manico del coltello di S. Pietro*, 4to, Ven., 1620.

<sup>2</sup> *Jacobi Gaffarelli Curiositates inauditæ, de figuris Persarum talismanicis, cum notis, &c.*, ex editione Gregorii Michaelis, Hamb. 1676, 2 vols., 12mo, vide pp. 22, 35, 61, 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Latino-Hebraica, sive de scriptoribus Latinis, qui ex diversis nationibus, contra Judæos, vel de re Hebraica utcumque scripserunt, &c. auct. et vend. D. Carolo Joseph. Imbonato, Mediolanensi*, p. 14.

production, of a very different description from the vast volumes which Dempster and M'Kenzie have profusely attached to his name. We have been unable to procure access to this dictionary, or to ascertain its existence in any public library. Without some more ample data or authority, we should deem ourselves worthy of the reproach of pedantry, were we to abbreviate the accounts presented to us, and tell the reader, *ex cathedra*, what he is to believe and what he is to discredit. We have then before us the choice, either to pass Mr Hepburn over in silence, or briefly to state the circumstances of his life, as they have been previously narrated. To follow the former would be disrespectful, not only to the veracious authors we have already mentioned, but also to the authors of the various respectable biographical works who have admitted Hepburn on the list of the ornaments of literature; and the latter method, if it do not furnish food for investigation, may at least give some amusement.

✓ James Bonaventura Hepburn, was son to Thomas Hepburn, rector of Oldhamstocks in Lothian. M'Kenzie states that he was born on the 14th day of July, 1573, and, that we may not discredit the assertion, presents us with a register kept by the rector of Oldhamstocks, of the respective periods of birth of his nine sons. He received his university education at St Andrews, where, after his philosophical studies, he distinguished himself in the acquisition of the oriental languages. Although educated in the principles of the protestant religion, he was induced to become a convert to the church of Rome. After this change in his faith, he visited the continent, residing in France and Italy, and thence passing through "Turkey, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and most of the eastern countries," gathering languages as he went, until he became so perfect a linguist, "that he could have travelled over the whole earth, and spoke to each nation in their own language." On returning from these laborious travels, he entered the monastery of the Minims at Avignon, an order so called from its members choosing in humility to denominate themselves "Minimi Fratres Eremitæ," as being more humble still than the Minores, or Franciscans. He afterwards resided in the French monastery of the holy Trinity at Rome. Here his eminent qualities attracted a ferment of attention from the learned world, and pope Paul the fifth, invaded his retirement, by appointing him librarian of the oriental books and manuscripts of the Vatican.<sup>4</sup>

We shall now take the liberty of enumerating a few of the many weighty productions of our author's pen, chiefly it is to be presumed written during the six years in which he was librarian of the Vatican. *Dictionarium Hebraicum*—*Dictionarium Chaldaicum*—*Peter Malcuti, seu gloria vel decus Israelis*, [continet cent. homilias sive conciones]—*Epitomen Chronicorum Romanorum*—*Gesta Regum Israelis*—*Grammatica Arabica*, (said to have been published at Rome in 1591, 4to.) He translated *Commentarii Rabbi Kimchi in Psalterium*—*Rabbi Abraham Aben Ezra Librum de Mysticis numeris*—*Ejusdem Librum alium de septemplici modo interpretandi sacram scripturam*.

We shall now turn our consideration to one work of the celebrated linguist, from which a little more information appears to be derivable. This is the "*Schema Septuaginta Duorum Idiomatum, sive virga aurea—quia Beata Virgo dicitur tot annis in vivis fuisse; et ille numerus discipulorum est Christi, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalium, et tot mysteria in nomine Dei: Romæ, 1616.*" M'Kenzie says, "this was communicated to me by the late Sir John Murray of

<sup>4</sup> It is singular that a person in the 17th century, living in Italy, professing so many languages in a country where linguists were rare, a librarian of the Vatican, and one whose "eminent parts had divulged his fame through the whole city"—should have entirely escaped the vast researches of Andre in general literature, Frabeschi's ample *Investigation of Italian Literature*, the minute *Ecclesiastical Bibliographies* of Dupin and Labbe, and other works of the same description.

Glendoich, and since it is a singular piece of curiosity, I shall give the reader a particular account of it, with some reflections upon the different languages that are here set down by our author." Whether by the term "communicated" the biographer means to intimate that he saw the production he criticises, is somewhat doubtful; but at all events, our opinion of M'Kenzie's veracity is such, that we do not believe he would deliberately state that he had either been informed of or shown any particular work by Sir John Murray, and thereafter give a full and minute account of it, without some sort of foundation on which to erect his edifice of narrative. M'Kenzie proceeds to assure us that this is a large print, engraved at Rome in the year 1616, and dedicated to Pope Paul V. That upon the top is the blessed virgin, with a circle of stars about her head, wrapt in a glorious vestment, upon which is her name in Hebrew, sending forth rays of eulogiums in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, while over her head appear the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Angels and the apostles are at her side, and the moon and stars beneath her feet. Then follow seven columns in which these encomiums are translated into the numerous dialects with which the mighty linguist was familiar. A great northern philologist, recently deceased, has been held up to the wonder of the human race, as having been acquainted with thirty-two languages; but in a period when few were acquainted with more tongues than that of their native place, along with the Greek and Latin, and when the materials for more extensive acquisitions were with difficulty accessible, the craving appetite of Hepburn could not be satiated with fewer than seventy-two. We have among these—The Cussian, the Virgilian, the Hetruscan, the Saracen, the Assyrian, the Armenian, the Syro-Armenian, the Gothic, and also the *Getic*; the Scythian, and the Mæso-Gothic. Then he leaves such modern labourers as Champolion and Dr Young deeply in the shade, from his knowledge of the Coptic, the Hieroglyphic, the Egyptian, the Mercurial Egyptian, the Isiac-Egyptiac, and the Babylonish. He then turns towards the Chaldaic, the Palestinian, the Turkish, the Rabbinical, the German Rabbinical, the Galilean, the Spanish-Rabbinical, the Afro-Rabbinical, and what seems the most appropriate tongue of all, the "Mystical."<sup>5</sup> Gradually the biographer rises with the dignity of his subject, and begins to leave the firm earth. He proceeds to tell us how Hepburn wrote in the "Noachic," the "Adamean," the "Solomonic," the "Mosaic," the "Hulo-Rabbinic," the "Seraphic," the "Angelical," and the "Supercelestial."<sup>6</sup> "Now," continues M'Kenzie, with much complacency at the successful exhibition he has made of his countryman's powers, but certainly with much modesty, considering their extent, "these are all the languages (and they are the most of the whole *habitable world*;) in which our author has given us a specimen of his knowledge, and which evidently demonstrates that he was not only the greatest linguist of his own age, but of any age that has been since the creation of the world, and may be reckoned amongst those prodigies of mankind, that seem to go beyond the ordinary limits of nature."

Hepburn dabbled in the doctrines of the Cabala, but whether in vindication or attack, the oracular observations of his biographers hardly enable us to ascertain. He died at Venice in October, 1620, a circumstance in which Dempster has the best reason to be accurate, as it is the very year in which he pens his account. M'Kenzie finds that "others" (without condescending to mention who they are,) "say that he died at Venice, anno 1621, and that his picture is still to be seen there, and at the Vatican at Rome." Dr Lettice, in the refined

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the Cabalistic arrangement of the alphabet.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps M'Kenzie may in naming this alphabet have had some confused idea in his mind, of an arrangement of the celestial bodies, by alternate contention, into something resembling the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, followed by some of the worshippers of the secret sciences. The arrangement was called the celestial alphabet. *Vide* Cafferel.

spirit of a philosophical biographer, has drawn of him the following character : " Although Hepburn's attainments in language were worthy of great admiration, I find no reason to believe that his mind was enlarged, or his understanding remarkably vigorous. He does not appear to have possessed that quick sense of remote but kindred objects, that active faculty of combining and felicity of expressing related ideas, or that intuitive discernment betwixt heterogeneous ones; those creative powers, in short, of thought or expression, by which original works of whatever kind are produced; those works in the contemplation of which alone, taste ever recognizes the fascination of genius." Did we possess the power of creating opinions out of nothing, which the Dr possessed, and to which he seems to refer, we should have tried his canons of criticism, on a minute review of all Hepburn's works, but in the meantime, we can only say, we can scarcely agree with him in thinking that the linguist had not a quick sense of " remote but kindred objects," or that he had any defect in his discernment of heterogeneous ideas; nor do we conceive that his biographer has allowed him too narrow an allowance of " creative power."

HERD, DAVID, an ingenious and useful inquirer into our national antiquities, was born in the parish of St Cyrus, Kincardineshire, about the year 1732. Of his education, and early life in general, nothing has been ascertained. He probably served an apprenticeship under a country writer, and then, like many young men in his circumstances, sought a situation of better promise in the capital. Throughout a long life, he appears to have lived unambitiously, and a bachelor, in Edinburgh, never rising above the character of a *Writer's clerk*. He was for many years clerk to Mr David Russel, accountant. A decided taste for antiquities, and literary antiquities in particular, led Mr Herd to spend a great part of his savings on books; and although the volumes which he preferred were then much cheaper than now, his library eventually brought the sum of £254, 19s. 10d. The same taste brought him into association with the principal authors and artists of his own time: Runciman, the painter, was one of his intimate friends, and with Ruddiman, Gilbert Stuart, Fergusson, and Robert Burns, he was well acquainted. His information regarding Scottish history and biography was extensive. Many of his remarks appeared in the periodical works of his time, and the notes appended to several popular works were enriched by notes of his collecting. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, was much indebted, in his *Border Minstrelsy*, to a manuscript of Mr Herd's, which is frequently quoted by the editor, both for ballads and for information respecting them. Mr Herd was himself editor of what Scott calls " the first classical collection" of Scottish songs, which first appeared in one volume in 1769, and secondly in two volumes, in 1772. At his demise, which took place, June 25, 1810, he was understood to have left considerable property, which fell to a gentleman in England, supposed to have been his natural son, and who is said to have died a major in the army.

HERIOT, GEORGE, founder of the excellent hospital in Edinburgh which bears his name, and jeweller to king James VI., was descended from the Heriots of Trabroun in East-Lothian. This respectable family was connected with some of the most distinguished names in Scottish history. The mother of the illustrious Buchanan was a daughter of the family, and it was through the patronage of James Heriot of Trabroun, his maternal uncle, that the future poet and statesman was sent to prosecute his studies at the university of Paris. Elizabeth, daughter of James Heriot of Trabroun, was the mother of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, first earl of Haddington, president of the court of session, and secretary and prime minister to James VI. But the family may, with more reason, boast of their connexion with the subject of this memoir, who, though

filling only the unaristocratic rank of a tradesman, has been the means of drawing forth from obscurity *some* persons of high talent, and *many* who have moved in the middle ranks with the greatest honour to themselves and benefit to society.

George Heriot, senior, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh and a person of wealth and consideration. He filled some of the most responsible civic situations in the Scottish metropolis: his name often occurs in the rolls of the Scottish parliament as a commissioner for Edinburgh, in the parliaments and conventions of estates, and he was frequently appointed a commissioner by parliament for the consideration of important questions.<sup>1</sup>

George, his eldest son (the subject of our inquiry) is supposed to have been born in June, 1563. He was destined to follow his father's profession, at that time one of the most lucrative and honourable among the burgesses. The goldsmiths of Edinburgh were, in ancient times, classed with the hammermen; at what time they were separated seems uncertain. They received (in August, 1581) a charter of incorporation from the magistrates, in which many privileges, amounting in fact to a monopoly of their trade, were granted to them, and these were afterwards (1586) confirmed by a charter from James VI. They were, besides, for a long period, the only money lenders; and the high rate of interest, with their frequent command over the resources of the court and the nobility, rendered them persons at once of wealth and power.

At the age of twenty-three George Heriot entered into a contract of marriage with Christian Marjoribanks, daughter of Simon Marjoribanks, a substantial burgess of Edinburgh. On this occasion, his father presented him with 1000 merks "to be ane begynning and pak to him," and 500 more to purchase the implements of his trade and to fit out his shop. By his wife he received 1075 merks, which appear to have been lent out at ten per cent. interest, the usual rate of that period. Their union does not appear to have been of long duration, although the date of this lady's death is unknown; it is even doubtful if she had any children—if she had, none of them survived her.

Master Heriot was admitted a member of the incorporation of goldsmiths on the twenty-eighth of May, 1588. In 1597 he was appointed goldsmith to the queen by a charter from James VI., and this (to use the expression of a contemporary chronicler, Birrel,) "was intimat at the crosse be opin proclamatione and sound of trumpet; and ane Clei, the French man, dischargit, quha was the queen's goldsmith befor." Heriot was soon after constituted goldsmith and jeweller to the king, with all the emoluments attached to that lucrative office. It would appear that he had already amassed a considerable fortune from his transactions with the court, but no notice of his work occurs in the treasurer's books till September, 1599, when we have the following:

"Payit at his majesties special command, with advyiss of the lords of secret counsal, to George Heriot, younger, goldsmith, for a copburd propynit to Monsieur Vetonu, Frenche ambassadour, contening the peces following, viz: twa basingis, twa laweris effeiring thairto, twa flaconis, twa chandilleris, sex couppis with coveris, twa couppis without coveris, ane lawer for water, ane saltfalt with ane cover; all chissellit wark, and dowbill owirgilt, weyand twa stane 14 pund and 5 unces at aucht mark the unce, £4160. Item, for gravng of 28 almessis upon the said copburd £14," Scots money.

No other notice of him appears between this period and that of the removal of the court to England, whither he soon followed it.

Heriot was now possessed of large fortune, and determined upon forming a marriage connexion with a family of good rank. The object of his choice was Alison

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (folio edition), iv. 181, 379.

Primrose, eldest daughter of James Primrose, clerk to the Scottish privy council; a gentleman whose industry and talents had raised him to that honourable office, and who was the grandfather of the first earl of Roseberry. Heriot was also destined to survive this lady, who died, without leaving issue, on the 16th of April, 1612. "The loss of a young, beautiful, and amiable partner, at a period so interesting," Sir Walter Scott conjectures, "was the probable reason of her husband devoting his fortune to a charitable institution." She was interred in the south aisle of the choir of Saint Gregory's church, where her sorrowing husband erected a handsome monument, bearing a Latin inscription, to her memory.

From the period of Heriot's settlement at London little is known of his history. Many of the accounts of jewels furnished by him to the queen have been preserved, and several are printed by Mr Constable in his memoir of Heriot. These accounts, from 1605 to 1615, amount to many thousand pounds sterling, but there does not appear to have been the same liberality towards all the members of the royal family. We find the duke (then marquis) of Buckingham, writing to his "dere dad, gossip and steward," the king, from the Spanish court in the following manner relative to the prince: "Hitherto you have beine so sparing [of jewels] that whereas you thought to have sent him sufficiently for his one [own] wearing, to present to his mistris, who, I am sure shall shortlie now louse that title, and to lend me, that I to the contrarie have bene forced to lend him." About the same period Charles writes the following letter from Madrid to his royal father:

"I confess that ye have sent mor jewells then (at my departure) I thought to had use of; but, since my cumming, seeing manie jewells worne here, and that my braverie can consist of nothing else, besydes that sume of them which ye have appointed me to give to the Infanta, in Steenie's oppinion and myne are not fitt to be given to her; therefore I have taken this bouldness to entreate your majesty to send more for my own wearing, and for giving to my mistris, in which I think your majesty shall not doe amiss to take Carlyle's advice."<sup>2</sup> It is said that Heriot furnished these jewels, and that they were never paid for by James, but that their price was deducted from the purchase-money of the barony of Broughton when bought by the trustees of the hospital.<sup>3</sup> If this is the case, it is the last transaction in which we have found Heriot engaged. He died at London on the 12th of February, 1624, and was buried at St Martin's in the Fields on the 20th of the same month.

Of Heriot's private character little unfortunately is known. He seems to have possessed those strict business-like habits of accuracy for which he is so distinguished in the novel of the Fortunes of Nigel. With his relations he must have lived on amicable terms, for besides the munificent provision made in his will for the establishment of an hospital, he left considerable sums to many of his relations. Of these the nearest were two natural daughters.

By his will, (dated 20th Jaauary, 1623,) he left the whole of his fortune, after deducting the legacies to his relations, servants, &c. to "the provost, bailiffs, ministers, and ordinary council, for the time being, of the said town of Edinburgh, for and towards the founding and erecting of an hospital within the said town of Edinburgh, in perpetuity; and for and towards purchasing of certain lands in perpetuity to belong unto the said hospital, to be employed for the

<sup>2</sup> Stark's Picture of Edinburgh, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis's Letters illustrative of English history, (first series) iii. 145, 6. Buckingham adds the following postscript in his usual style: "I your doge (dog) sayes you have manie jewells neyther fitt for your one (own,) your soones, nor your daughters, wearing, but very fitt to bestow on those here who must necessarilie have presents; and this way will be least chargeable to your majesty in my poure opinion."

maintenance, relief, bringing up, and education of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh, as the means which I give, and the yearly value of the lands purchased by the provost, bailiffs, ministers, and council of the said town shall amount, or come to." The education of the boys is superintended by able masters, and they are not only taught to read, write, and cast accounts, (to which the statutes of the hospital originally confined the trustees,) but Latin, Greek, Mathematics, &c. If the boys choose a learned profession, they are sent to the university for four years, with an annual allowance of thirty pounds. The greater number are bound apprentices to tradesmen in the city, and are allowed the annual sum of ten pounds for five years; at the end of their apprenticeship they receive five pounds to purchase a suit of clothes, upon producing a certificate of good conduct from their master.

The foundation of the present magnificent structure (designed by the celebrated architect Inigo Jones,) was laid on the 1st of July, 1628, but from the disturbed state of the country continued unfinished till April, 1659. From the rise in the value of their property, the yearly revenue at the disposal of the trustees has very greatly increased, especially during the last half century. A body of statutes by which the institution is governed was drawn up by Dr Balcanquhal, dean of Rochester, the well known author of a "Declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland," 1639, published in name of king Charles I.

HERON, ROBERT, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the town of New Galloway, on the 6th November, 1764. His father, John Heron, was a weaver, generally respected for his persevering industry and exemplary piety. By his grandmother, Margaret Murray, aunt of the late Dr Alexander Murray, he claimed no very distant relationship to that profound philologist. He was early instructed in his letters under the careful eye of a fond parent, and was not sent to the school of the parish until he had reached his ninth year. He soon became remarkable for the love he showed for learning, and the unwearied anxiety with which he pursued his inquiries after every point connected with his studies. This being early perceived by his parents, they resolved to give him the benefit of a liberal education as far as their means would allow. He had scarcely remained two years at school when, at the age of eleven, he contrived to maintain and educate himself by mingling with his studies the labour of teaching and writing. From his own savings out of a very limited income, and a small assistance from his parents, he was enabled to remove to the university of Edinburgh at the end of the year 1780.

His hopes of preferment at that time being centered in the church, he first applied himself to the course of study which that profession requires. While attending the college he was still obliged to devote a considerable portion of his time to private teaching, as well as writing occasional essays for newspapers and magazines, in order to provide for his subsistence. To quote his own words, "he taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature." Being well grounded in a knowledge of the French language, he found constant employment from booksellers in translating foreign works. His first literary production, published with his name, appeared in 1789, "A Critique on the Genius and Writings of Thomson," prefixed to a small edition of the Seasons. It was highly spoken of, and reflected much credit on the judgment and taste of the author. His next work was a version of Fourcroy's Chemistry, from the French, followed by Savary's Travels in Greece, Dumourier's Letters, Gesner's Idylls in part, an abstract of Zimmerman on Solitude, and several abridgments of Oriental Tales.

In 1790-1, he says he "read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations, the Jewish, Grecian, Roman, feudal, and canon law—and then on the

several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe ;"—these lectures, he says, were to assist gentlemen who did not study professionally, in the *understanding of history*. Though he devoted much time and study to prepare these lectures, he was afterwards unfortunate in not being able to obtain a sufficient audience to repay him for their composition—they were consequently soon discontinued. A syllabus of the entire course was afterwards published. Still the sums of money he continued to receive from his publishers were amply sufficient to maintain him in a respectable manner, if managed with prudence and discretion; but his unfortunate peculiarity of temper, and extravagant desire of supporting a style of living which nothing but a liberal and certain income would admit of, frequently reduced him to distress, and finally to the jail. He might have long remained in confinement, but that some worthy friends interceded; and, on their suggestion, he engaged himself to write a History of Scotland, for which Messrs Morrisons of Perth were to pay him at the rate of three guineas a sheet, his creditors, at the same time, agreeing to release him for fifteen shillings in the pound, to be secured on two thirds of the copyright; before this arrangement was fully concluded, melancholy to relate, nearly the whole of the first volume of the History of Scotland was written in jail. It appeared in 1793, and one volume of the work was published every year successively, until the whole six were completed. During that period he went on a tour through the western parts of Scotland, and from notes taken on the road, he compiled a work in two volumes octavo, called "A Journey through the Western Parts of Scotland." He also gave to the world, "A Topographical Account of Scotland," "A New and Complete System of Universal Geography," "A Memoir of Robert Burns," besides many contributions to magazines and other periodical works. He was also engaged by Sir John Sinclair, to superintend the publication of his Statistical Account of Scotland. By this time he had acquired great facility in the use of his pen, and, being extremely vain of the versatility of his genius, he flattered himself there was no range in literature, however high, that was not within the scope of his powers. Impressed with these ideas, he made an attempt at dramatic composition, and having some influence with the manager of the theatre, he contrived to get introduced on the stage an after-piece, written, as he says, in great haste, called, "St Kilda in Edinburgh; or, News from Camperdown;"—but as if to verify the adage, "Things done in a haste are never done well," so it turned out with St Kilda. Being devoid of every thing like interest, and violating in many parts the common rules of decency, it was justly condemned before it reached the second act.

Our author's vanity must have on this occasion received a deep wound, being present in the house at the time;—overwhelmed with disappointment, he flew to his lodgings and confined himself to bed for several days. Still blinded by vanity in the midst of his mental sufferings, he imputed the failure of his play to the machinations of his enemies. He therefore determined on "shaming the rogues" by printing. It is needless to say, it neither sold nor was talked of. The most amusing part of this affair was the mode in which he persisted in forcing his production on the public. We shall present our readers with an extract from his highly inflated preface. It commences with a quotation from Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. "The learned bishop Hall tells us in one of his decades, at the end of his Divine Meditations, that it is an abominable thing for a man to *commend himself*, and verily I think so; and yet, on the other hand, when a thing is executed in a *masterly* kind of fashion, which thing is not likely to be found out, I think it is fully as abominable that a man should lose the honour of it. This is exactly my situation." In the following he quotes Swift:—"When a *true genius* appears in the world, you may know him by this sign—



that the *dunces* are all in confederacy against him." Yet, though blinded by folly and weighed down by distress, still his filial affections were alive, and, although he could not afford his parents any permanent support, he seemed anxious to promote the education of their family; which the following extracts from his letters will sufficiently prove:

"I hope by living more pious and carefully, by managing my income frugally, and appropriating a part of it to the service of you and my sisters, and by living with you in future at least a third part of the year, to reconcile your affections more entirely to me, and give you more comfort than I have yet done. Oh forget and forgive my follies; look on me as a son who will anxiously strive to comfort and please you, and, after all your misfortunes, to render the evening of your days as happy as possible." And again,—“We will endeavour,” says he, “to settle our dear Grace comfortably in life, and to educate our dear little Betty and Mary aright.” He brought his eldest brother, John, to Edinburgh, to study at the university, with the view of his entering the church; he was a youth of promising abilities, but of weak constitution, and sank into an early grave in 1790. As the other children increased in years, faithful to his promise, he brought his favourite sister, Mary, to live with him in Edinburgh to complete her education. His irregularities, and consequent embarrassments, made her situation in town any thing but an enviable one. Her mortifications, however, in this life were not of long duration, as she died at his lodgings in 1798. To a mind of his quick sensibility this was a dreadful shock. Almost frantic with grief at the loss he experienced, he gave himself up to the wildest despair: every unkind action or word he made use of towards her rushed to his distracted memory, until life itself was almost insupportable. Neither the sympathy of friends, nor the consolations of religion, could mitigate his woes. At the same time his means of subsistence became every day more precarious; his literary labours were ceasing to pay, so that, added to his other misfortunes, starvation and a jail were hourly staring him in the face. Shunning as much as possible all his former companions, he might now be seen wandering about the suburbs of the city, with wasted cheek and sunken eye, a miserable victim of want and care. By degrees, however, he was recalled to a better state of mind, when, finding his views not likely to succeed any longer in Scotland, he was induced to go to London in 1799. For the first few years of his residence there, it appears he found good employment, and his application to study being very great, his profits and prospects were alike cheering. In a letter written to his father about the time we are speaking of, he says—

“My whole income, earned by full sixteen hours a-day of close application to reading, writing, observation, and study, is but very little more than three hundred pounds a-year. But this is sufficient to my wants, and is earned in a manner which I know to be the most useful and honourable—that is, by teaching beneficial truths, and discountenancing vice and folly more effectually and more extensively than I could in any other way. This I am here always sure to earn, while I can give the necessary application; and if I were able to execute more literary labour I might readily obtain more money.”

He for a time pursued his literary vocations with an unwearied industry, and there was scarcely a publication then in London of any note but contained some of his fugitive writings. He realized in consequence a good income, but, unfortunately, for no great length of time. His former bad habits returned, and while money continued to flow in, he indulged in the wildest extravagance. Wishing to be thought an independent man of fortune, he would carry his folly so far as at times to keep a pair of horses, with a groom in livery. All this time his pen was laid aside; and until warned of his fate by the appearance

of his last shilling, he seemed altogether devoid of reflection. Then he would betake himself to his work, as an enthusiast in every thing, confining himself for weeks to his chamber, dressed only in his shirt and morning gown, and commonly with a green veil over his eyes, which were weak, and inflamed by such fits of ill regulated study.

In 1806, he addressed a letter to Mr Wilberforce on the *justice and expediency of the Slave Trade*. He wrote a short system of Chemistry, and a few months previous to his death he published a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, which, it appears, met with a ready sale.

The last years of his life were spent in the deepest misery. His friends and associates by degrees deserted him; some offended at his total want of steadiness, others worn out by constant importunities, and not a few disgusted at the vanity and envy he displayed on too many occasions; added to all this, his employers found they could place no dependence on his promises, as he would only resume his pen when urged to it by stern necessity, so that he found at last, it was with great difficulty he could procure even a scanty subsistence. Deep in debt, and harassed by his creditors, who were all exasperated at his constant want of faith, he was at last consigned to the jail of Newgate, where he dragged on a miserable existence for many months. From that vile prison he wrote the following pathetic appeal to the Literary Fund, which we derive from a most appropriate source, D'Israeli's "Calamities of Authors."

"Ever since I was eleven years of age I have mingled with my studies the labour of teaching or writing to support and educate myself. During about twenty years, while I was in constant and occasional attendance at the university of Edinburgh, I taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature. I read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations, the Jewish, the Grecian, the Roman, and the canon law, and then on the feudal law, and on the several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe. I printed a Syllabus of these lectures, which was approved; they were as introductory to the professional study of law, and to assist gentlemen who did not study it professionally, in the understanding of history. I translated Fourcroy's Chemistry twice, Savary's Travels in Greece, Dumourier's Letters, Gesner's Idyls in part, an abstract of Zimmerman on Solitude, and a great diversity of smaller pieces. I wrote a journey through the western parts of Scotland, which has passed through two editions; a History of Scotland in six volumes 8vo; a typographical account of Scotland, which has been several times reprinted; a number of communications in the Edinburgh Magazine; many prefaces and critiques. A Memoir of the Life of Burns, which suggested and promoted the subscription for his family, has been reprinted, and formed the basis of Dr Currie's life of him, as I learned by a letter from the Doctor to one of his friends; a variety of *jeux d'esprit*, in verse and prose, and many abridgments of large works. In the beginning of 1799, I was encouraged to come to London. Here I have written a great multiplicity of articles in almost every branch of literature, my education in Edinburgh having comprehended them all. The London Review, the Agricultural Magazine, the Universal Magazine, the Anti-Jacobin Review, the Public Characters, the Annual Necrology, with several other periodical works, contain many of my communications. In such of these publications as have been received, I can show that my anonymous pieces have been distinguished with very high praise. I have written also a short system of Chemistry, and I published a few weeks since a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, of which the first edition was sold in one week, and the second edition is now in rapid

sale. In the newspapers—The Oracle, The Porcupine, when it existed, The General Evening Post, The Morning Post, The British Press, The Courier, &c. I have published my reports of the debates in parliament, and I believe a greater variety of fugitive pieces than I know to have been written by any one person. I have written also a great variety of compositions in Latin and French, in favour of which I have been honoured with the testimonials of liberal approbation.

“I have invariably written to serve the cause of religion and morality, pious Christian education, and good order in the most direct manner. I have considered what I have written as mere trifles, and I have incessantly studied to qualify myself for something better. I can prove that I have for many years read and written one day with another from twelve to sixteen hours a-day. As a human being I have not been free from follies and errors; but the tenor of my life has been temperate, laborious, humble, quiet, and, to the utmost of my power, beneficent. I can prove the general tenor of my writings to be candid, and ever adapted to exhibit the most favourable views of the abilities, dispositions, and exertions of others. For the last ten months I have been brought to the very extremity of bodily and pecuniary distress.

“I shudder at the thoughts of perishing in a jail.

“92, *Chancery Lane*, Feb. 2d. 1807.

(In confinement.)”

His life was now fast drawing to a close. With a mind bowed down by want and despair, and a body emaciated from increasing disease, he was incapable of farther exertion; and being removed to an hospital as his last and only hope, in one week after his entrance there, he breathed his last, on the 13th of April, 1807, without a friend to console or assist him. Thus perished Robert Heron in the prime of life, with talents and acquirements of a very rare description, which, if governed by prudence, were eminently calculated to gain for him an honourable independence in the world. It is difficult to estimate the true depth of his genius by his miscellaneous publications in prose; his style was of a mixed description,—sometimes pompous and declamatory, at other times chaste and elegant. But it must be considered he was seldom allowed the choice of a subject, being all his life under the dictates of a publisher.<sup>1</sup> He composed with great rapidity, and seldom made any corrections but in his proof sheets. His appearance was at most times impressive and dignified; his figure, above the middle size, stately and erect, and his countenance had a benevolent expression, though pale and care-worn from study and confinement.

With all his faults he had still many redeeming virtues; and above all a strong sense of the respect which is due to religion and morality. In a diary of his life, kept at various times, which contains a free confession of his sentiments, he has recorded, that, in whatever manner he spent the day, he never closed his eyes at night without humbling himself in prayer before the throne of the Most High.

The brief memoir of this accomplished scholar affords another striking instance of the impossibility of shielding genius from poverty and disgrace when blinded by passion, or perverted by eccentricity.

HILL, (Dr) GEORGE, an eminent leader of the church of Scotland, and principal of St Mary's college, St Andrews, was born in that city, in the month of June, 1750. His father, the Rev. John Hill, was one of the ministers of St Andrews; and he went through his whole course of education in the university there. The elements of education he received very early, after which he was

<sup>1</sup> A specimen of the writings of this extraordinary genius is given in the present work, under the head “Robert Burns.”

sent to the grammar school, then taught by Mr Dick, who afterwards obtained a chair in the university. While he continued at school, he made a rapid progress, and was generally at the head of his class. At the age of nine years, he exhibited so much precocity of talent as to compose a sermon, superior in his father's opinion to many sermons he had heard from the pulpit; and the late countess of Buchan was so much pleased with it, that she requested it might be dedicated to her, and carried it to London with her, with the intention of having it printed. The intention, however, without any loss to the world we presume, was never brought into act. He entered upon his academical course in the eleventh year of his age, and in all the different classes maintained a decided superiority. His tasks he performed always with ease; and he was highly respected by all the professors under whom he studied. At fourteen years of age, he had completed his philosophical course, and was made a master of arts; and, having determined to devote himself to the church, entered upon the study of theology in his fifteenth year. During the second session of his theology, the earl of Kinnoul, having been appointed chancellor of the university of St Andrews, gave for the encouragement of learners, a number of prizes, to be bestowed on the most deserving in the various classes. These prizes his lordship distributed to the successful candidates with his own hand; and young Hill, having gained one of them, though he had to contend with many that were greatly his seniors, attracted the particular notice of his lordship, who from that moment took a warm interest in his success in life, giving him directions for his conduct, and aid for the prosecution of his schemes, with the warmth of a parent rather than the cold and stately formality of a patron. During his college vacations, he was in the habit of visiting frequently at Temple, his uncle, Dr McCormick, the biographer of Carstairs, by whom he was introduced to the metropolitan of the Scottish church, principal Robertson, and by the principal he was recommended as tutor to the eldest son of Pryce Campbell, M. P., and at that time one of the lords of the treasury. In consequence of this appointment, he repaired to London in November, 1767, not having completed his seventeenth year. Such a series of fortunate incidents occurs in the lives of few individuals. "Educated," says his biographer, "in the genuine principles of whiggism, he considered the great design of government to be the promotion of the liberty and the happiness of the people;" but in the close of the very same paragraph this writer introduces the subject of his panegyric saying to his mother, "as I have seen nothing but mobbing and the bad effects of faction since I came to England, I am very moderate, and think it the duty of an honest man to support almost any ministry." Mr Hill was, indeed, a whig of a somewhat odd kind; the man whom he most admired was lord North, and the objects of his aversion and his vituperation were the American colonists, Messrs Beckford, Wilkes, and the other members of the opposition in the house of commons.

Mr Hill, while at St Andrews, had been an ambitious member of those associations generally formed at colleges for the purpose of exercising the talent of speech, and he was not long in London till he found his way into the Robin Hood Debating Society, where he even then consulted his interest by defending the measures of administration. His account of this society gives no very high idea of its members. "Last night I went to the Robin Hood Society and was very highly entertained there. We had speakers of all kinds, shoemakers, weavers, and quakers, whose constant topic was the dearth of provisions. There were one or two who spoke very comically, and with a great deal of humour. But what surprised me much, I heard one of the easiest and most masterly speakers that ever I heard in my life. His dress was rather shabby, but he is a constant attendant and by long practice has greatly improved. I

spoke once or twice, and had the honour of being listened to with great attention, which is a compliment in a society of this kind, which is made up of people of all descriptions. It sits on Mondays from eight to ten. A ticket costs sixpence, for which you get a well lighted room and as much porter and lemonade as you choose to drink. There is a subject fixed, and if that fail, the president gives another. I shall be a constant attendant, not only as it is one of the highest entertainments, but as the best substitute for the select clubs which I have left."—"I carried," he says in another letter to his mother, "my pupil to the Robin Hood Society, along with Mr Brodie, Mr Campbell's parochial clergyman at Calder, who was on a visit to London. I made a splendid oration, which had the honour of a loud clap, and was very much approved by Mr Brodie. It is a fine exercise for oratorical talents." On another occasion Mr Hill thus expresses himself: "I am obliged to you for your observations on the knowledge of mankind. The true secret certainly for passing through life with comfort, and especially to a person in my situation, is to study the tempers of those about him and to accommodate himself to them. I don't know whether I am possessed of this secret, or whether there is something remarkable in the persons with whom I converse, but I have found every body with whom I have had any connexion since I came to England or Wales, exceedingly agreeable. From all I have met with politeness and attention, and, from many, particular marks of favour and kindness. I may be defective in penetration and sagacity, and in judging of character, but I am sure I am pliable enough, more than I think sometimes quite right. I can laugh or be grave, talk nonsense, or politics, or philosophy, just as it suits my company, and can submit to any mortification to please those with whom I converse. I cannot flatter; but I can listen with attention, and seem pleased with every thing that any body says. By arts like these, which have, perhaps, a little meanness in them, but are so convenient that one does not choose to lay them aside, I have had the good luck to be a favourite in most places." This at eighteen, except perhaps in Scotland, will be looked upon as an amazing instance of precocious worldly sense. In the scramble for the good things of this world, had such a man failed, who could ever hope to succeed?

In a subsequent letter to his mother, referring to the circumstance of a younger brother entering upon his education, he observes, "What is the learning of any one language, but throwing away so much time in getting by heart a parcel of words in one language, and another parcel corresponding to the first in another? It is an odd thing that some more rational and useful employment cannot be found out for boys of his age, and that we should still throw away eight or ten years in learning dead languages, after we have spunged out of them all that is to be found. God certainly never intended that so much of our time should be spent in learning Greek and Latin. The period allotted to us for action is so short that we cannot too soon begin to fit ourselves for appearing upon the stage. Mr Campbell cannot read Greek, and he is a bad Latin scholar; yet he is a philosopher, a divine, and a statesman, because he has improved his natural parts by reading a great deal of English. I am, and perhaps all my life shall continue a close student; but I hate learning. I have no more than is absolutely necessary, and as soon as I can I shall throw that little away." Whatever was his Latinity, Mr Campbell's interest was good and promised still to be better, in consequence of which Mr Hill's friends were instant with him to go into the church of England, where, through the attention of Mr Campbell, he might be much better provided for than he could be in the church of Scotland, to which, notwithstanding, he still professed not only adherence, but a high degree of veneration.

From this temptation he was delivered by the death of Mr Pryce Campbell,

who was cut off in the prime of his days, and in the midst of his expectations. Mr Hill, however, was still continued with his pupil, who was now under the protection of his grandfather; and as great part of his estates lay in Scotland, that his education might be corresponding to the duties which, on that account, he might have to perform, young Campbell was sent for two sessions to the university of Edinburgh, and that he might be under the eye of principal Robertson, he was, along with his tutor, boarded in the house of Mrs Syme, the principal's sister. During these two sessions, Mr Hill attended the divinity class and the meetings of the Speculative Society, where he acquired considerable eclat from a speech in praise of the aristocracy. He also waited on the General Assembly, in the debates of which he took so much interest as to express his wish to be returned to it as an elder. With Dr Robertson his intercourse was uninterrupted, and by him he was introduced to the notice of the principal men in and about Edinburgh. By his uncle, Dr M'Cormick, he was introduced at Arniston house, and in that family (Dundas) latterly found his most efficient patrons. While he was thus swelling the train of rank and fashion, it was his fortune to meet for the first time, dining at general Abercrombie's, with the celebrated David Hume, of whom he thus wrote immediately after: "I was very glad to be in company with a man about whom the world has talked so much; but I was greatly surprised with his appearance. I never saw a man whose language is more vulgar, or whose manners are more awkward. It is no affectation of rudeness as being a philosopher, but mere clownishness, which is very surprising in one who has been so much in high life, and many of whose writings display so much elegance." During all this time, the progress of his pupil was not commensurate to the expectations of his friends, and the expenses it occasioned; and with the approbation of his patron, lord Kinnoul, Mr Hill resigned his charge. Mr Morton, professor of Greek in the university of St Andrews, at this time wishing to retire on account of the infirmities of age, Mr Hill became a candidate, was elected after some little opposition, and on the 21st of May, 1772, was admitted joint professor of Greek, being yet only in the twenty-second year of his age. He now went to London with his former pupil, and visited Cambridge, where Mr Campbell was to finish his studies; and, having received from lord Kinnoul and Dr Robertson ample testimonials to the ability and faithfulness with which he had discharged his duty while residing in Edinburgh, the family parted with him, expressing their thankfulness, their respect, and regret. Returning to Scotland, he spent some time with his uncle, preparing for meeting with his class, which he did in the end of the year 1772. The duties of this charge did not prevent him from various other pursuits. In the year 1774, Mr Campbell, in order to make the most of his parliamentary interest in the shire of Nairn, gave to a number of his friends votes upon life-rent superiorities, and among others conferred one upon Mr Hill, who, while at Nairn performing his friendly office as one of Mr Campbell's voters, nearly lost his life by sleeping in a room that had been newly plastered. His groans, however, happened to be heard, and a physician being in the house to give immediate assistance, he was soon recovered. The year following, he formed the resolution of entering the church, and having made application to the presbytery of Haddington, with which, through his brother-in-law Mr Murray of North Berwick, he considered himself in some sort connected, he was by that reverend court licensed to preach the gospel on the 3d of May, 1775. He was immediately after this employed as assistant to principal Tullidolph in the parochial church of St Leonard's, which has always been united with the principality of the college. In this situation, he continued till the death of principal Tullidolph in the year 1777. The same year he was offered the parish of Coldstream by the earl of Haddington; but he

did not think it worth accepting. The following year, on the death of Dr Baillie, professor of theology in the college of Glasgow, principal Robertson desired him to stand candidate for that chair; but he seems to have taken no steps for that purpose, probably from the circumstance of his being only a preacher, which might have operated against him in case of a well supported candidate coming forward. The same year, probably to be ready in case of a similar emergency, he again applied to the presbytery of Haddington, and was by them ordained to the holy ministry. In the year 1779, through the interest of principal Robertson, and his uncle Dr M'Cormick, he was offered one of the churches of Edinburgh, with the prospect of a chair in the university in a short time. This also he declined with a view to some contemplated arrangements of lord Kinnoul. In consequence of the death of principal Morison, Dr Gillespie was shortly after removed from the first charge in the city to the principality of the new college. Dr Adamson, the second minister, was promoted to Dr Gillespie's benefice, and Mr Hill was elected by the town-council successor to Dr Adamson. In consequence of his holding the professorship of Greek, Mr Hill's induction was protested against by a member of the presbytery of St Andrews, and the case was brought before the General Assembly in the year 1780, which dismissed it without ceremony, as it did also overtures on the subject from the synods of Fife, Perth, and Stirling. Mr Hill was, accordingly, with the full concurrence of the congregation, admitted to the church in which his father had officiated, on the 22nd day of June, 1780. Since his settlement at St Andrews as a professor of Greek, he had sat in the General Assembly as an elder; he now appeared in the more weighty character of a minister, and on the retirement of Dr Robertson became the most important member of the house, and confessedly the leader of the moderates.

We have already noticed his acceptance of a life-rent superiority, by which he became a freeholder in the county of Nairn in the year 1774. He continued to stand on the roll of freeholders for that county till the winter of 1784, when a new election came on; but Mr Campbell, from being on the side of the ministry, was now violent on the side of the opposition. In this case, for Mr Hill to have given his vote to Mr Campbell's candidate would have been considered by the ministry as open rebellion against their claims on the church, for which they might have selected another leader, and have, at the same time, withdrawn every mark of their favour from him. They might also have prosecuted him before the justiciary on a charge of perjury, as they had already done some others in similar circumstances. Under this complication of difficulties, Mr Hill as usual had recourse to the earl of Kinnoul, and to his brother-in-law Mr Murray of North Berwick. Lord Kinnoul most ingeniously gave him back his own views; did not, as chancellor of the university think he was warranted to allow him to desert his professional duties for the purpose merely of giving a political vote; and stated, that though he himself could have greatly extended his interest by such votes as Mr Hill possessed, he had never granted one of them. A charge of perjury he admitted, might be brought against any person who received them, and whether it might be well founded or not, it was a charge to which, in his opinion, no minister of the gospel should expose himself. The judgment of his lordship we cannot but approve, though it is probable that if the candidate had been a ministerial one, the Greek class might have been allowed a few holidays without the smallest impropriety. Mr Murray, while he regretted (though he no doubt knew it from the first,) that his friend should ever have accepted such a vote, applauded his purpose of relinquishing it, and of refusing, under all circumstances, to comply with the requisition to attend the election. Mr Hill's biographer labours hard to clear him from any degree of blame in this affair.

but without effect: it carries its character full in its face, and holds up a most important lesson to all clergymen, to beware of intermeddling in political intrigues of any kind.

In 1787 Mr Hill was honoured by the university with the title of D.D., and in 1788 was appointed to succeed Dr Spens as professor of divinity in St Mary's college. He had been the previous year appointed dean to the order of the thistle, a place that had been first created to gratify Dr Jardine for his services in support of Dr Robertson, but with no stated salary; the dean only claiming a perquisite of fifty guineas on the installation of every new knight. During Dr Hill's incumbency, no instalment took place, and he of course derived no pecuniary benefit from the situation. He had been little more than three years in the divinity chair, when the situation of principal became vacant by the death of Dr Gillespie, and it was by lord Melville bestowed on Dr Hill. This appointment in his letter of thanks he considered as peculiarly valuable, as being the best proof that lord Melville approved the mode in which he had discharged the duties of the divinity professorship. "I will not attempt, he continues, to express by words the gratitude which I feel; but it shall be the study of my life to persevere as a clergyman in that line of conduct upon which you have generously conferred repeated marks of your approbation." This was the termination of his university preferment; but he was shortly afterwards nominated one of his majesty's chaplains for Scotland, with a salary annexed; and, on the death of his uncle Dr M'Cormick, he succeeded him as one of the deans of the chapel royal. The deanery of the thistle already noticed was unproductive; but the above two situations, while they added nothing to his labours, increased his income in a material degree. In his management of the General Assembly Dr Hill copied closely after Dr Robertson; except that the entire satisfaction of himself and his party with the law of patronage as it then stood, was marked by withdrawing from the yearly instructions to the commission, the accustomed order to embrace every opportunity of having it removed, and by still bolder attempts to do away with the form of moderating calls for presentees and to induct them solely upon the footing of presentations. In his progress Dr Hill certainly encountered a more formidable opposition than Dr Robertson latterly had to contend with. In one case, and in one only, he was completely defeated. This was an overture from the presbytery of Jedburgh concerning the imposition of the Test upon members of the established church of Scotland, which it was contended was an infringement of the rights of Scotsmen, and a gross violation of the privileges and independence of the Scottish church. In opposition to the overture it was maintained by the moderates of the assembly that the Test Act was a fundamental article of the treaty of union; and Dr Hill, in particular, remarked that there were no complaints on the subject except from one single presbytery, nor was there any ground to complain; for, to a liberal and enlightened mind it could be no hardship to partake of the Lord's Supper according to the mode sanctioned by a church whose views of the nature and design of that ordinance were the same with his own. For once the popular party gained a triumph, and the accomplished and ingenious leader was left in a minority. A series of resolutions moved by Sir Henry Moncrieff were adopted, and by the unanimous voice of the assembly a committee was appointed to follow out the spirit and purpose of these resolutions. Care, however, was taken to render the committee of no avail, and nearly thirty years elapsed without any thing further being done. We cannot enlarge on Dr Hill's administration of the affairs of the church, and it is the less necessary that no particular change was effected under him. Matters generally went on as usual, and the influence of political men in biasing her decisions were, perhaps, fully



more conspicuous than under his predecessor. Of his expertness in business, and general powers of management, the very highest sense was entertained by the public, though differences of opinion latterly threatened to divide his supporters.

In 1807 Dr Hill had a severe attack, from which it was apprehended he would not recover; contrary to all expectation he did recover, and the following year, on the death of Dr Adamson, he was presented to the first ecclesiastical charge in the city of St Andrews. Eight years after, namely, in 1816, we find him as active in the General Assembly as at any former period of his life. Shortly after this time, however, he was attacked with slight shocks of apoplexy, which impaired his speech, and unfitted him for his accustomed exercises. He was no more heard in the assembly house; but he continued to preach occasionally to his own congregation till the year 1819, when he was laid aside from all public duty. He died on the 19th of December that year, in the seventieth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his ministry.

Dr Hill married in 1782, Miss Scott, daughter to Mr Scott, a citizen of Edinburgh, who had chosen St Andrews as his place of retirement in his old age, after he had given up business. By this lady, who survived him, Dr Hill had a large family, several of whom are yet alive. His eldest son is a minister of the church of Scotland, and for pulpit talents scarcely less celebrated than his father. In a life of principal Hill, it would be unpardonable to pass over his various publications, some of which possess high excellence. We cannot, however, afford room for criticism, and shall merely notice them in a general way. Single sermons seem to have been his first publications, though they are mentioned by his biographer in a very indistinct manner. One of these, preached before the sons of the clergy, seems to have been sent to the bishop of London, whose commendation it received. Another, from the text, "Happy art thou, O Israel; who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord?" was published in the year 1792, as a sedative to the popular excitement produced by the French revolution. The sermon was an unmeasured panegyric on the existing order of things in Great Britain, and had, for a short time, an immense popularity. "I believe it will be agreeable to you," writes his bookseller, "to inform you that I have had success with respect to your sermon, beyond my most sanguine imagination. I have written a hundred letters upon the subject, and have got all the capital manufacturers in Scotland to enter into my idea. I have printed off ten thousand copies of the coarse, and one thousand copies of the fine. I have got letters of thanks from many capital persons, with proper compliments to you. \* \* \* I congratulate you upon the extensive circulation of the sermon, for never was such a number of a sermon sold in this country before, and I flatter myself it will, in a great measure, answer the purpose for which it was intended." The following year he published a third sermon, "Instructions afforded by the present war to the people of Great Britain." This sermon, however, passed without any particular notice. In 1795, he published a volume of sermons, which is said to have met with limited success. Several years after, Dr Hill published "Theological Institutes," containing Heads of his Lectures on Divinity; "a View of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland;" and "Counsels respecting the duties of the Pastoral Office." This last is an interesting and valuable work. In 1812, he published, "Lectures, upon portions of the Old Testament, intended to illustrate Jewish history and Scripture characters." To this work is prefixed the following dedication: "To the congregation which attends the author's ministry, this specimen of a Course of Lectures, in which he led them through the Books of the Old Testament, is, with the most grateful sense of their kindness, and the most affectionate wishes for their welfare, respectfully inscribed." There

is no mode of publication a minister can adopt so likely to be useful as this. It gives a most pleasing idea of a clergyman when he thus takes, as it were, a last farewell of his people, who cannot fail to peruse a work bequeathed to them under such circumstances, with peculiar interest. These lectures, we doubt not, were regarded among his parishioners more than all his other works. Of Dr Hill's character the reader has been furnished with materials for forming a judgment for himself. His precocious abilities, his talents for adapting himself to the uses of the world, his diligence in all his offices, and his powers of managing public business and popular assemblies, conspire to mark him out as a very extraordinary man. It may only be remarked that, for the most of tastes, his conduct will in general appear too much that of a courtier.

HOG, (SIR) ROGER, lord Harcarse, a judge and statesman, was born in Berwickshire about the year 1635. He was the son of William Hog of Bogend, an advocate of respectable reputation, to whom is attributed the merit of having prepared some useful legal works, which have unfortunately not been given to the public. The subject of this memoir passed as an advocate in June 1661, and continued in the enjoyment of a lucrative and successful practice, till a breach between Nisbet of Dirleton, and the powerful and vindictive Hatton, opened for him a situation on the bench on the resignation of that judge in 1677; being marked out by the government as a useful instrument, the appointment was accompanied with the honours of knighthood from Charles the second. At this period the judges of the Scottish courts, like ministerial officers, held their situations by the frail tenure of court favour, and were the servants, not of the laws, but of the king. It was the good fortune of Harcarse to be, in the earlier part of his career, particularly favoured by the ruling powers; and on the 18th November, 1678, we accordingly find Sir John Lockhart of Castlehill summarily dismissed from the bench of the court of justiciary, and Harcarse appointed to fill his place. At this period he represented the county of Berwick in the Scottish parliament, an election which, from the journals of the house, we find to have been disputed, and finally decided in his favour. A supreme judge of the civil and criminal tribunals, and a member of the legislative body, Harcarse must have had difficult and dangerous duties to perform. The times were a labyrinth full of snares in which the most wary went astray: few of those who experienced the sunshine of royal favour, passed with credit before the public eye, and none were blameless. Among the many deeds of that bloody reign, which mankind might well wish to cover with a veil of eternal oblivion, was one daring and unsuccessful attempt, with regard to which, the conduct of Harcarse, in such an age and in such a situation, had he been known for nothing else, is worthy of being commemorated. In 1681, the privy council had called on Sir George M'Kenzie, as lord advocate, to commence a prosecution for treason and perjury against the earl of Argyle, for his celebrated explanation of his understanding of the contradictions of the test. To the eternal disgrace of that eminent man, he brought with him to the prosecution those high powers of argument and eloquence with which he had so frequently dignified many a better cause. The relevancy of the indictment was the ground on which the unfortunate earl and his counsel, Sir George Lockhart, placed their whole reliance, but they leaned on a broken reed. In a midnight conclave, held it would appear after the minds of most of the judges were sufficiently fatigued by the effect of a long day of labour, the full depth of iniquity was allowed to the crime "of interpreting the king's statutes other than the statute bears, and to the intent and effect that they were made for, and as the makers of them understood." Queensberry, who presided as justice general, having himself been obliged to accompany the oath with a qualification, remained neuter, and to oppose the insult on sense and justice,

was left to Harcarse, and Collington, a veteran cavalier. In order to do the business with certainty, and prevent his majesty's interest from being sacrificed to opposition so unusual and captious, Nairn, an infirm and superannuated judge, was dragged from his bed at dead of night, and the feeble frame of the old man yielding to the desire of sleep while the clerk read to him a summary of the proceedings, he was roused from his slumber, and by his vote the relevancy of the indictment was carried by a majority of one. The course pursued by lord Harcarse in this trial escaped the vengeance of government at the time, but his conduct was held in remembrance for a future opportunity. In the year 1688, a question came before the court of session, in which the matter at issue was, whether a tutory, named by the late marquis of Montrose, should subsist after the death of one of the tutors, who had been named, in the language of the Scottish law, as a "sine qua non." In a matter generally left to the friends of the pupil, the unusual measure of the *instance* of the lord advocate was adopted by government, for the purpose of having the pupil educated in the Roman catholic faith. Wauchope lord Edmonstone and Harcarse voted for the continuance of the trust in the remaining tutors, and on a letter from the king, intimating to the court that, "for reasons best known to himself," it was his royal will and pleasure that they should cease to act as judges, both were removed from the bench, "notwithstanding," says Fountainhall, with some apparent astonishment, "that Edmonston was brother to Wauchop of Nidrie, a papist." The doctrine of the law, previously vacillating, has since this decision been considered as properly fixed, according to the votes of the majority; but an opposition to the will of government in such a matter can be attributed to no other motives but such as are purely conscientious. Other opinions on government and prerogative, maintained in a private conference with some of the leaders of the ministry, are alleged to have contributed to this measure; but these were never divulged. At the period of his downfall, a public attack was made on the character of lord Harcarse, on the ground of improper judicial interference in favour of his son-in-law, Aytoun of Inchdarnie, by an unsuccessful litigant. These animadversions are contained in a very curious pamphlet, entitled "Oppression under colour of Law; or, my Lord Harcarse his new Practicks: as a way-marke for peaceable subjects to beware of playing with a hot-spirited lord of Session, so far as is possible when Arbitrary Government is in the Dominion," by Robert Pittilloch, advocate, London, 1689.<sup>1</sup> The injured party is loud in accusation; and certainly if all the facts in his long confused legal narrative be true, he had reason to be discontented. He mentions one rather striking circumstance, that while the case was being debated at the side bar of the lord ordinary, previous to its coming before the other judges, "my lord Harcarse compeared in his purple gown, and debated the case as Inchdarnie's advocate;" a rather startling fact to those who are acquainted with the comparatively pure course of modern justice, and which serves with many others to show the fatal influence of private feeling on our earlier judges, by whom an opportunity of turning judicial influence towards family aggrandizement, seems always to have been considered a gift from providence not to be rashly despised. After the Revolution, the path of honour and wealth was again opened to lord Harcarse, but he declined the high stations proffered to him; and the death of a favourite and accomplished daughter, joined to a disgust at the machinations of the court, prompted by his misfortunes, seems to have worked on a feeble frame, and disposed him to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He died in the year 1700, in the 65th year of his age, leaving behind him a collection of decisions from 1681 to 1692, published in 1757, in the form of a dictionary, a useful and well arranged compilation. The pamphlet of

<sup>1</sup> Re-edited by Mr Maidment, Advocate, in 1827.

the unsuccessful litigant, previously alluded to, though dictated by personal and party spleen, has certainly been sufficient somewhat to tinge the judicial integrity of lord Harcarse; but those who had good reason to know his qualities have maintained, that "both in his public and private capacity, he was spoken of by all parties with honour, as a person of great knowledge and probity;"<sup>2</sup> it would indeed be hard to decide how far the boasted virtues of any age might stand the test of the opinion of some more advanced and pure stage of society, did we not admit that in a corrupt period, the person who is less vicious than his contemporaries is a man of virtue and probity; hence one who was a profound observer of human nature, an accurate calculator of historical evidence, and intimately acquainted with the state of the times, has pronounced Harcarse to have been "a learned and upright judge."<sup>3</sup> Some unknown poet has penned a tribute to his memory, of which, as it displays more elegance of versification and propriety of sentiment than are generally to be discovered in such productions, we beg to extract a portion.

"The good, the godly, generous, and kind  
The best companion, father, husband, friend;  
The stoutest patron to maintain a cause,  
The justest judge to square it by the laws;  
Whom neither force nor flattery could incline  
To swerve from equity's eternal line;  
Who, in the face of tyranny could own,  
He would his conscience keep, though lose his gown;  
Who, in his private and retired state  
As useful was, as formerly when great,  
Because his square and firmly tempered soul,  
Round whirling fortune's axis could not roll;  
Nor, by the force of prejudice or pride,  
Be bent his kindness to forego or bide,  
But still in equal temper, still the same,  
Esteeming good men, and esteemed by them;  
A rare example and encouragement  
Of virtue with an aged life, all spent  
Without a stain, still flourishing and green,  
In pious acts, more to be felt than seen."

HOLYBUSH, JOHN, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer, better known by the Latin terms, de Sacrobosco, or de Sacrobusto, occasionally also receiving the vernacular appellations of Holywood and Hallifax, and by one writer barbarously named *Sacerbuschius*. The period when this eminent man flourished is not known with any thing approaching even to the usual certainty in such cases, and it is matter of doubt whether he existed in the 13th or 14th century. Nor is his birth-place less dubious; as in many other instances during the same period, England, Scotland, and Ireland have contended for the honour—the two former with almost equal success, the last with apparently no more claim than the absence of certain evidence of his belonging to any other particular nation. When a man has acquired a fame apart from his own country, and in any pursuit not particularly characteristic of, or connected with his native land, the establishment of a certainty of the exact spot of his birth is of little consequence, and when easily ascertained, the fact is only useful for the purpose of pointing out the particular branch of biography (as that subject is generally divided) to which the individual belongs, and thus preventing omission and confusion. Entertain-

<sup>2</sup> Memoir prefixed to his Decisions.

<sup>3</sup> Laing's Hist. of Scot. iv. 1:3.

ing such an opinion, we shall just glance at the arguments adduced by the writers of the two nations in defence of their respective claims, and not pretending to decide a matter of such obscurity, consider it a sufficient reason why he should be a fit subject for commemoration in this work, that no decision can be come to betwixt the claimants. It will be very clear, where there are doubts as to the century in which he lived, that he is not mentioned by any authors who did not exist at least a century or two later. In an edition of one of his works, published at Lyons in 1606, it is said, "*Patria fuit quæ nunc Anglia Insula, olim Albion et Brettania appellata.*" Although the apparent meaning of this sentence inclines towards an opinion that our author was an Englishman, the sentence has an aspect of considerable ignorance of the divisions of Britain, and confounds the England of later times, with the Albion or Britannia of the Romans, which included England and Scotland. Leland and Camden vindicate his English birth, on the ground that John of Halifax in Yorkshire forms a translation (though it must be admitted not a very apt one) of Joannes de Sacrobosco. On the other hand Dempster scouts the theory of Leland with considerable indignation, maintaining that Halifax is a name of late invention, and that the mathematician derived his designation from the monastery of Holywood in Nithsdale, an establishment of sufficient antiquity to have admitted him within its walls. M'Kenzie repeats the assertions of Dempster with a few additions, stating that after having remained for some years in the monastery, he went to Paris, and was admitted a member of the university there. "Upon the 5th of June, in the year 1221," Sibbald in his manuscript *History of Scottish Literature*<sup>1</sup> asserts, that besides residing in the monastery of Holywood, he was for some time a fellow student of the monks in Dryburgh, and likewise mentions, what M'Kenzie has not had the candour to allude to, and Dempster has sternly denied, that he studied the higher branches of philosophy and mathematics at the university of Oxford. Presuming Holybush to have been a Scotsman, it is not improbable that such a circumstance as his having studied at Oxford might have induced his continental commentators to denominate him an Englishman. M'Kenzie tells us that he entered the university of Paris "under the syndie of the Scots nation;" for this he gives us no authority, and we are inclined not only to doubt the assertion, but even the circumstance that at that early period the Scottish nation had a vote in the university of Paris, disconnected with that of England—at all events, the historians of literature during that period are not in the habit of mentioning a Scottish nation or syndie, and instead of the faculty of arts being divided, as M'Kenzie will have it, "into four nations, France, *Scotland*, Picardy, and Normandy," it is usually mentioned as divided into France, *Britain*, Picardy, and Normandy. That Holybush was admitted under a Scottish syndie, was not a circumstance to be omitted by Buleus, from his elaborate and minute *History of the University of Paris*, where the mathematician is unequivocally described as having been an Englishman. There cannot be any doubt that Holybush became celebrated at the university for his mathematical labours; that he was constituted professor of, or lecturer on that science; that many of the first scholars of France came to his school for instruction; and that if he was not the first professor of the mathematics in Paris, he was at least the earliest person to introduce a desire for following that branch of science. M'Kenzie states that he died in the year 1256, as appears from his tombstone. The author of the *History of the University of Paris*, referring with better means of knowledge to the same tombstone, which he says was to be seen at the period when he writes, places the date of his death at the year 1340. The same well informed author mentions that the high respect paid to his abilities and integrity, prompted the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Lit. Gentis Scot. MS. Adv. Lib., p. 161.

university to honour him with a public funeral, and many demonstrations of grief. On the tombstone already referred to, was engraved an astrolabe, surrounded by the following inscription:—

“ De Sacrobosco qui computista Joannes,  
Tempora discevit, jacet hic a tempore raptus.  
Tempora qui sequeris, memor esto quod morieris;  
Si miseres, plora, miserans pro mo precor ora.”

The most celebrated work of Holywood was a treatise on the Sphere, discussing in the first part the form, motion, and surface of the earth—in the second those of the heavenly bodies, and, as was customary before the more full revival of philosophy, mingling his mathematics and astronomy with metaphysics and magic. Although the discoveries displayed in this work must be of great importance, it is impossible to give any account of their extent, as the manuscripts of the author seem to have lain dormant till the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, when they were repeatedly published, with the comments and additions of able mathematicians, who mingled the discoveries of Holybush with those which had been made since his death. The earliest edition of this work appears to have been that published at Padua in 1475, entitled “Francisci Capuani expositio Sphæræ Joannis a Sacrobosco.” In 1485 appeared “Sphæra cum Theoricis Purbachii et Disputationibus Johannis Regiomontani contra Cremonensium Deliramenta in Planetarum Theoricis,” being a mixture of the discoveries of Holywood, with those of George Purbach, (so called from the name of a town in Germany, in which he was born,) and Regiomontanus, whose real name was Muller, two celebrated astronomers and mathematicians of the 15th century. During the same year there appears to have been published a commentary on Holywood by Cichus Ascolanus. In 1507, appeared an edition for the use of the university of Paris, with a commentary, by John Bonatus. In 1547, an edition was published at Antwerp, with figures very respectably executed, and without the name of any commentator. Among his other commentators, were Morisani, Clavius, Vinetus, and many others of high name, whom it were useless here to enumerate. Some late authors have said that Melancthon edited his *Computus Ecclesiasticus*; of this edition we have not observed a copy in any library or bibliography, but that great man wrote a preface to the *Sphæra*, prefixed to an edition published at Paris in 1550. Besides these two works, Holybush wrote *De Algorismo*, and *De Ratione Anni*. Dempster also mentions a *Breviarium Juris*, which either has never existed, or is now lost. McKenzie mentions a *Treatise de Algorismo*, and on Ptolemy's *Astrolabe*, fragments of which existed in MS. in the Bodleian library. In the catalogue of that institution the former is mentioned, but not the latter.

HOME, HENRY, (LORD KAMES,) a lawyer and metaphysician, son of George Home of Kames, was born at his father's house in the county of Berwick, in the year 1696. The paternal estate of the family, which had once been considerable, was, at the period of the birth of the subject of this memoir, considerably burdened and reduced by the extravagance of his father, who appears to have pursued an easy hospitable system of living, unfortunately not compatible with a small income and a large family. With the means of acquiring a liberal education, good connexions, and the expectation of no permanent provision but the fruit of his own labours, the son was thrown upon the world, and the history of all ages has taught us, that among individuals so circumstanced, science has chosen her brightest ornaments, and nations have found their most industrious and powerful benefactors. In the earlier part of the last century, few of the country gentlemen of Scotland could afford to bestow on their children the ex-

pensive education of an English university, and an intuitive horror at a contact with the lower ranks, frequently induced them to reject the more simple system of education provided by the universities of Scotland. Whether from this or some other cause, young Home was denied a public education, and received instructions from a private tutor of the name of Wingate, of whose talents and temper he appears to have retained no happy recollection.<sup>1</sup> The classical education which he received from this man appears to have been of a very imperfect description, and although on entering the study of his profession, he turned his attention for some length of time to that branch of study, he never acquired a knowledge of ancient languages sufficiently minute to balance his other varied and extensive acquirements. Mr Home was destined by his family to follow the profession of the law, the branch first assigned him being that of an agent. He was in consequence apprenticed to a writer to the signet in the year 1712, and he continued for several years to perform the usual routine of drudgery, unpleasant to a cultivated and thinking mind, but one of the best introductions to the accurate practice of the more formal part of the duties of the bar. The ample biographer of Home has detailed in very pleasing terms the accident to which he dates his ambition to pursue a higher branch of the profession than that to which he was originally destined. The scene of action is represented as being the drawing room of Sir Hew Dalrymple, lord president of the court of session, where Home, on a message from his master, finds the veteran judge in the full enjoyment of elegant ease, with his daughter, a young beauty, performing some favourite tunes on the harpsichord. "Happy the man," the sentimental youth is made to say to himself, "whose old age, crowned with honour and dignity, can thus repose itself after the useful labours of the day, in the bosom of his family, amidst all the elegant enjoyments which affluence, justly earned, can command! such are the fruits of eminence in the profession of the law!" If Home ever dated his final choice of a profession from the occurrence of this incident, certain praises which the president chose to bestow on his acuteness and knowledge of Scottish law, may have been the part of the interview which chiefly influenced his determination.

Having settled the important matter of his future profession, Mr Home applied himself to the study of the laws, not through the lectureship which had just been established in Edinburgh for that purpose, but by means of private reading, and attendance at the courts. He seems indeed to have entertained an early objection to the discipline of a class-room, and to have shown an independence of thought, and repugnance to direction in his mental pursuits, which have been by some of his admirers laid down as the germs of that originality which his works have exhibited. Perhaps the same feeling of self-assurance prompted him in the year 1723, to address a long epistle to Dr Samuel Clarke, "from a young philosopher," debating some of that learned divine's opinions on the necessity, omnipotence, and omniscience of the Deity. A very concise and

<sup>1</sup> Tytler, in his life of Kames, mentions an amusing scene which took place betwixt the scholar and master some time after their separation. When Home was at the height of his celebrity as a barrister, the pedagogue had contrived to amass a sum of money, which he cautiously secured on land. Anxious about the security of his titles, he stalked one morning into the study of his former pupil, requesting an opinion of their validity. The lawyer having carefully examined the several steps of the investment, assumed an aspect of concern, and hoped Mr Wingate had not concluded the bargain; but Mr Wingate *had* concluded the bargain, and so he had the pleasure to listen to a long summary of objections, with which the technical knowledge of his former pupil enabled him to pose the uninitiated. When the lawyer was satisfied with the effect of his art, the poor man was relieved from the torture, with an admonition, which it were to be wished all followers of "the delightful task" would hold in mind: "You may remember, sir, how you made me smart in days of yore for very small offences—now I think our accounts are closed. Take up your papers, man, and go home with an easy mind; your titles are excellent."

polite answer was returned, for the brevity of which the writer excuses himself, "as it is according to his custom, and the time allowed him for such matters." No encouragement was given to continue the correspondence, and the application was not repeated. He appears at the same time to have maintained a conference with Mr Andrew Baxter, on certain points of natural philosophy; but that gentleman finding it impossible to bend the young philosopher's mind to the conviction, that motion was not the effect of repeated impulses, but of one impulse, the effect of which continues till counteracted, (the doctrine generally received by the learned world,) seems to have lost all proper philosophical patience, and given up the controversy in a fit of anger.

Mr Home put on the gown of an advocate in the year 1723, when there were, as there ever will be in such institutions, many eminent men at the Scottish bar; but although many were respectable both for their talents and integrity, it could not be said that more than one revered individual, Forbes of Culloden, was justly illustrious, for a distinguished display of the former, or an uncompromising and undeviating maintenance of the latter quality. The baneful corruptions of family and ministerial influence, which had long affected the court, ceased to characterize it: but their shadows still hovered around their former dwelling-place, and many curious little private documents on which the world has accidentally stumbled, have shown that the most respectable guardians of justice, have not administered the law uninfluenced by some of those little worldly motives which affect a man in the management of his own affairs. From the period when Mr Home commenced his practice at the bar, he seems to have for a time forgot his metaphysics, and turned the whole of his discriminating and naturally vigorous intellect to the study of the law; in 1728 he published the first of his numerous works, a collection of the "Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session," from 1716 to 1728, a work purely professional, which from the species of technical study being seldom embodied by an author so comparatively youthful, seems to have attracted much attention from the court and the leading lawyers of the time. It is probable that the hue and arrangement given to the pleadings, now the chief defect of that compilation, may have rendered it at the time it was published attractive from the originality of the method. A small volume of essays "upon several subjects in Scots Law," which he published four years afterwards, afforded more scope for ingenuity and refinement of reasoning than could possibly be infused into other men's arguments; and in the choice of the subjects, and the method of treating them, full advantage has been taken of the license. Such of the arguments and observations as stood the test of more mature consideration, were afterwards embodied by the author in one of his more extensive popular law books. Mr Home seems to have been one of those gifted individuals who could enjoy hilarity without dissipation, and gayety without frivolity. In early life he gathered round him a knot of familiar and congenial spirits, with whom he enjoyed the fashionable and literary society of Edinburgh, then by no means despicable as a school of politeness, and just dawning into a high literary celebrity. Hamilton of Bangour, Oswald, and lord Binning, were among his early and familiar friends, and though he soon extended to more gifted minds the circle of his philosophical correspondence, an early intercourse with men so refined and learned must have left a lasting impression on his susceptible intellect.

In 1741, at the prudent age of forty-seven, Mr Home married Miss Agatha Drummond, a younger daughter of Mr Drummond of Blair, in Perthshire, a lady of whom we hear little, except that she had a turn for quiet humour, and that she perplexed her husband's economical principles by an inordinate affection for old china, being in other respects generally reported to have been a prudent and



docile wife. In 1741, Mr Home published the well known Dictionary of the Decisions of the Court of Session, afterwards continued and perfected by his friend and biographer, lord Woodhouselee; a very laborious work, and of great practical utility, though now superseded by the gigantic compilation of Morison, and the elaborate digest of the late Mr Brown. During the rebellion of 1745, the business of the court of session was suspended for eleven months, and those lawyers whose minds were not engaged in the feverish struggles of the times, had to seek some occupation in their retirement. Mr Home seems at no time to have busied himself in active politics, excepting such as came within the range of his judicial duties—and the early predilection of his family to the support of the Stuart dynasty, may have been an additional motive for his preserving a strict neutrality during that disorderly period. In the midst of his retirement, he gathered into a few short treatises, which, in 1747, he published under the title of “*Essays upon several subjects concerning British Antiquities*,” some facts and observations intended to allay the unhappy differences of the period, although it is rather doubtful whether the Highlanders or their intelligent chiefs found any solace for their defeat and subjection to the laws, in discussions on the authority of the Regiam Majestatem, or nice theories of descent. The subjects discussed are of a highly useful and curious nature; and had the author brought to the work an extensive collection of facts, and a disposition to launch into no theories but such as his own good sense dictated to be applicable and sound, the country might have had to thank him for a just and satisfactory account of her ancient laws and customs, and the rise of the constitution, which the talent of her bar has not yet produced. But these essays are brief and desultory, the facts are few and paltry, and the reasoning fanciful and unsatisfactory. The arguments against “the Hereditary and Indefeasible right of Kings,” if they ever produced any good effect, would certainly constitute a proof that the human mind, as exhibited in any arguments which might be used by his opponents, was then more perverted by prejudice, than it is generally believed to have been in any civilized country. To the truisms contained in that essay, the refinements on hereditary descent form a curious converse; where the feudal system has its origin from the tendency of bodies in motion to continue in a straight line, and the consequent tendency of the mind to pursue its objects in a course equally direct, which proves that, “as in tracing out a family, the mind descends by degrees from the father first to the eldest son, and so downwards in the order of age, the eldest son, where but one can take, is the first who presents himself.”

The next production of Mr Home’s pen, was one of a nature more congenial to his habits of thought:—in 1751, he published “*Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*.” One of the grand leading aims of this work, is the maintenance of innate ideas, or principles of right and wrong, in opposition to the opinions of Locke and Hume. After the clear logical deductions of these great men, the duty of an opponent was a task of difficulty; while it is at the same time generally allowed by both parties in this grand question, that the view adopted by lord Kames, while it agrees more happily with the general feelings of the world, cannot bear the application of the same chain of clear and subtle reasoning which distinguishes the position of his antagonists. Like too many of the best works on metaphysics, the *Essays on Morality* give more instruction from the ingenuity of the arguments, and the aspects of the human mind brought before the reader in the course of deducing them, than in the abstract truths presumed to be demonstrated. It has been frequently noticed, to the prejudice of most of the works of the same author, that, instead of arranging his arguments for the support of some general principle, he has subdivided his principles, and so

failed to bring his arguments to a common point. The failing, if characteristic of lord Kames, was not unusual at the period, and is one which time, and the advantage of the labours of previous thinkers, tend to modify;—in the work we are just considering, the line of argument maintained bids defiance to the adoption of any one general principle, while much confusion is prevented, by the author having given a definition of what he understands those laws of nature to which he refers our consciousness of good and evil to consist of. Although the author in the advertisement avows the purpose of his work to be “to prepare the way for a proof of the existence of the Deity,” and terminates the whole with a very pious and orthodox prayer, he had the fortune to bring the church of Scotland like a hornet’s nest about him, on the ground of certain principles tending to infidelity, which some of its active adherents had scented out in his arguments. A zealous clergyman of the name of Anderson published, in 1753, “An Estimate of the Profit and Loss of Religion, personally and publicly stated; illustrated with references to Essays on Morality and Natural Religion;” in which the unfortunate philosopher is treated with no more politeness than the opponent of any given polemical disputant deserves. This blast of the trumpet was followed up by an “Analysis” of the same subject, “addressed to the consideration of the church of Scotland;” and the parties rousing themselves for battle, the hand of the respected Dr Blair, stretched forth in moderation of party rancour, and defence of his esteemed friend, protracted but did not prevent the issue. A motion was made in the committee for overtures of the General Assembly, “How far it was proper for them to call before them, and censure the authors of infidel books.” After a stormy debate the motion was lost, but the indefatigable Mr Anderson presented in name of himself and those who adhered to his opinions, a petition and complaint to the presbytery of Edinburgh, praying that the author of the Essays on Morality, &c. might be censured “according to the law of the gospel, and the practice of this and all other well governed churches.” Defences were given in, and the petitioner obtained leave to reply, but before the matter came to a conclusion he had breathed his last, and the soul of the controversy perishing along with him, lord Kames was left to pursue his philosophical studies unmolested. The chief subject of this controversy, may be discovered in the curious and original views maintained by the author of the essays, on the subject of liberty and necessity. Full freedom to the will of mankind he maintains to be in opposition to the existence and operation of a Deity, who pre-judges all his actions, and has given him certain motives which he cannot avoid following; while, to preserve common uniformity with the doctrine of an innate sense of right and wrong previously maintained, the author is obliged to admit that man must have a consciousness of free-will, to enable him to act according to that innate sense: he therefore arrives at a sort of intermediate doctrine, which may be said to maintain, that while the will is not in reality free, it is the essence of our nature that it should appear to us to be so. “Let us fairly own,” says the author, “that the truth of things is on the side of necessity; but that it was necessary for man to be formed with such feelings and notions of contingency, as would fit him for the part he has to act.” “It is true that a man of this belief, when he is seeking to make his mind easy after some bad action, may reason upon the principles of necessity, that, according to the constitution of his nature, it was impossible for him to have acted any other part. But this will give him little relief. In spite of all reasonings his remorse will subsist. Nature never intended us to act upon this plan: and our natural principles are too deeply rooted to give way to philosophy.” \*\*\* “These discoveries are also of excellent use, as they furnish us with one of the strongest arguments for the existence of the Deity, and as they set the wisdom and goodness of his

providence in the most striking light. Nothing carries in it more express characters of design; nothing can be conceived more opposite to chance, than a plan so artfully contrived for adjusting our impressions and feelings to the purposes of life." The doctrine may appear at first sight anomalous; but it displays equal ingenuity in its discovery, and acuteness in its support, and is well worthy of the deepest attention. A certain clergyman of the church of Scotland is said to have seen in this theory an admirable exposition of the doctrine of predestination, and to have hailed the author as a brother; and certainly a little comparison will show no slight analogy betwixt the two systems; but other persons thought differently, and the reverend gentleman was superseded. These fiery controversies have carried us beyond an event which served to mitigate their rancour—the elevation of Mr Home to the bench of the court of session, where he took his seat in February, 1752, by the title of lord Kames; an appointment which, as it could not be but agreeable and satisfactory to the learned and ingenious, seems to have met the general concurrence and approbation of the common people of the country. Arguing from the productions of his pen, no one would hesitate to attribute to lord Kames those qualities of acuteness, ingenuity, and plausible interpretation, necessary for the acquirement of distinction and success at the bar—but that he was characterized by the unprejudiced and unwavering uprightness of the judge, whose conclusions are formed less on finely spun theories and sophisms than on those firm doctrines of right and wrong which can form a guide alike to the ignorant and the learned, would seem questionable, had we not the best authority to believe, that his strong good sense, and knowledge of justice, taught him as a judge to desert, on most occasions, the pleasing speculations which occupied his mind as a lawyer. "He rarely," says Tytler, "entered into any elaborate argument in support of his opinions; it was enough that he had formed them with deliberation, and that they were the result of a conscientious persuasion of their being founded on justice, and on a fair interpretation of the laws." Unfortunately there are some exceptions to this general characteristic; refined speculation seldom entirely deserts its favourite abode, and in some few instances lord Kames was a special pleader on the bench.

In 1755, lord Kames was appointed a member of the board of trustees, for the encouragement of the fisheries, arts, and manufactures of Scotland, and likewise one of the commissioners for the management of the annexed estates, on both of which important duties it would appear he bestowed the attention his ever active mind enabled him to direct to many different subjects. In the midst of his varied judicial and ministerial labours, two legal works appeared from the pen of lord Kames. "The Statute Law of Scotland abridged, with Historical Notes," published in 1759, was never known beyond the library of the Scots lawyer, and has now almost fallen into disuse even there. "Historical Law Tracts," published in 1757, was of a more ambitious sort, and acquired something beyond professional celebrity. The matters discussed in this volume are exceedingly miscellaneous, and present a singular mixture of "first principles" of morality, metaphysics, &c., and Scots law. The author has here displayed, in the strongest light, his usual propensity for hunting all principles so far back into the misty periods of their origin, that, attempting to find the lost traces of the peculiar idea he is following, he pursues some fanciful train of thought, which has just as much chance of being wrong as of being right. "I have often amused myself," says the author, "with a fanciful resemblance of law to the river Nile. When we enter upon the municipal law of any country in its present state, we resemble a traveller, who, crossing the Delta, loses his way among the numberless branches of the Egyptian river. But when we begin at the source, and follow the current of law, it is in that case no less easy and agreeable; and

all its relations and dependencies are traced with no greater difficulty than are the many streams into which that magnificent river is divided before it is lost in the sea." If the philosopher meant to compare his searches after first principles to the investigation of the source of the Nile, the simile was rather unfortunate, and tempts one by a parody to compare his speculations to those of one who will discover the navigability or fertilizing power of a river, by a confused and endless range among its various sources, when he has the grand main body of the river open to his investigations, from which he may find his way, by a sure and undoubted course, to its principal sources, should he deem it worth his while to penetrate them. This work exhibits in singularly strong colours the merits and defects of its author. While his ingenuity has led him into fanciful theories, and prompted him to attribute to the actions of barbarous governments subtle intentions of policy, of which the actors never dreamed, it has enabled him to point out connexions in the history of our law, and to explain the natural causes of anomalies, for which the practical juriconsult might have long looked in vain. The history of criminal jurisprudence is a prominent part of this work. The author attempts to confute the well founded theories of Voltaire, Montesquien, and many others, tracing the origin of punishment, and consequently the true principles of criminal jurisprudence, from the feelings of vindictiveness and indignation inherent in human nature when injured,—a principle we fear too often followed to require a particular vindication or approval. We cannot pass from this subject without attracting attention to the enlightened views thrown out by lord Kames on the subject of entails, views which he has seen the importance of frequently repeating and inculcating, though with many others he spoke to the deaf adder, who heeded not the wisdom of his words. He proposed the entire repeal of the statute of 1685, which, by an invention of the celebrated Sir Thomas Hope, had been prepared for the purpose of clenching the fetters of Scots entails, in a manner which might put at defiance such efforts as had enabled the lawyers of England to release property from its chains. But the equity of the plan was shown in the manner in which the author proposed to settle the nice point of the adjustment of the claims on estates previously entailed. The regulations enforced by these he proposed should continue in force in as far as respected the interests of persons existing, but should neither benefit nor bind persons unborn at the time of the passing of the act proposed. Such an adjustment, though perhaps the best that could possibly be supposed, can only be put in practice with great difficulty; the circumstance of an heir being expected to be born, nearer than any heir alive, and numberless others of a similar nature, would render the application of the principle a series of difficulties. Lord Kames communicated his views on this subject to lord Hardwick and lord Mansfield, and these great judges admitted their propriety; it had been well had the warning voice been heeded—but at that period the allegiance of Scotland might have been endangered by such a measure. The duke of Argyll was then the only Scotsman not a lawyer, who could look without horror on an attempt to infringe on the divine right of the lairds.

In 1760, appeared another philosophically legal work from our author's prolific pen, entitled "*Principles of Equity*," composed with the ambitious view of reconciling the distinct systems of jurisprudence of the two nations—a book which might be of great use in a country where there is no law, and which, though it may now be applied to but little practical advantage in Scotland, it is rather humiliating to think, should have ever been considered requisite as a guide to our civil judges. But the opinions of this volume, which referred to the equity courts of England, received a kindly correction from a masterly hand. In tracing the jurisdiction of the court of chancery, lord Kames pre-

sumed it to be possessed of perfectly arbitrary powers, (something resembling those at one time enjoyed by the court of session,) enabling it to do justice according to the merits, in every case which the common law courts did not reach; and with great consideration laid down rules for the regulation of its decisions, forgetting that, if such rules could be applied to any court so purely arguing from circumstances and conscience, the rules of an act of parliament might have been as well chosen, and rather more strictly followed, than those of the Scottish judge. But it appears that lord Kames had formed erroneous ideas of the powers of the English equity courts; and in a portion of Sir William Blackstone's Commentary, attributed to the pen of lord Mansfield, he is thus corrected: "on the contrary, the system of our courts of equity is a laboured, connected system, governed by established rules, and bound down by precedents, from which they do not depart, although the reason of some of them may perhaps be liable to objection." Tytler, on all occasions the vindicator of his friend, has attempted to support the theory of lord Kames, by making Blackstone contradict himself: he has discovered the following passage in the Introduction to that author's works,—“Equity depending essentially upon the particular circumstances of each individual case, there can be no established rules and fixed precepts of equity laid down, without destroying its very essence, and reducing it to a positive law.” But in this passage, be it recollected, the author speaks of courts of pure equity like the Prætorian tribunals of the Romans, untrammelled by act or precedent, and left entirely to judicial discretion, a species of institution of which he does not admit the existence in England. But let us not relinquish this subject, without bestowing our meed of approbation on the noble efforts which the learned author has made in this, and more effectually in others of his works, to reconcile the two countries to an assimilation in laws. There is no more common prejudice, than the feeling, that the approach of one country to the laws and customs of another, is not an act of expediency, but an acknowledgment of inferiority, and it generally requires a harsher struggle on the part of the weaker, than on that of the stronger people. It is frequently maintained that a love for ancient institutions, and a wish to continue them, however cumbersome, is the characteristic safeguard of freedom; but might it not be said, that the firmness of a nation consists in the obedience it pays to the laws while they exist, paying them not the less respect in their execution, that they look upon them as systems which should be altered by the legislative authority. “Our law,” says lord Kames, “will admit of many improvements from that of England; and if the author be not in a mistake, through partiality to his native country, we are rich enough to repay with interest all we have occasion to borrow;” a reflection which might produce good seed, if it would teach some narrow intellects to examine the merits of some petty deformities of Scottish law, for which antiquity has given them an affection. And if the proud legislators of a neighbouring country would desert for a moment the stale jest which forced itself into the words “*nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*,” and admit the possibility that the mighty engine of English jurisprudence might admit some improvement from the working of a more simple and in many things very efficacious machine, the high benefits of a participation in the excellencies of their own system, which they show so much anxiety to extend across the border, would be received with less jealousy and suspicion.

Passing over the introduction to the *Art of Thinking*, published in 1761, we turn with much pleasure to the contemplation of another of the philosophical productions of this eminent writer, the work on which his reputation chiefly depends. In 1762 was published, in three octavo volumes, “*The Elements of Criticism*.” The correspondence and previous

studies of the author show the elaborate and diversified matter of these volumes to have been long the favourite subject of his reflections. It had in view the aim of tracing the progress of taste as it is variously exhibited and acknowledged to exist, to the organic principles of the mind on which in its various departments it is originally founded, displaying the art of what his biographer justly calls "Philosophical Criticism," in opposition to that which is merely practical, or applicable to objects of taste as they appear, without any reference to the causes why the particular feelings are exhibited. But that lord Kames was in this "the inventor of a science," as his biographer has termed him, is a statement which may admit of some doubt.

The doctrine of reflex senses propounded by Hutchinson, the father of the Scottish System of Philosophy, had many years previously laid a firm foundation for the system, afterwards so ably erected. Some years previously to the publication of the *Elements of Criticism*, Hume and Gerard had drawn largely from the same inexhaustible source, and, if with less variety, certainly with more correctness and logical accuracy of deduction; and Burke, though he checked the principle of the sensations he has so vividly illustrated by arbitrary feelings assigned as their source, contributed much to the advancement of that high study. Nor is it to be denied, that the ancients at least knew the existence of this untried tract, if they did not venture far within its precincts, for few can read Cicero de Oratore, Longinus, or the *Institutions of Quintilian*, without perceiving that these men were well acquainted with the fundamental principles of the rules of criticism. But relinquishing the discussion of its originality, the *Elements of Criticism* is a book no man can read without acquiring many new ideas, and few without being acquainted with many new facts: it is full of useful information, just criticism, and ingenious reasoning, laying down rules of composition and thought, which have become classical regulations for elegant writers. The author is, however, a serious transgressor of his own excellent rules; his mind seems to have been so perpetually filled with ideas, that the obstruction occasioned by the arrangement of a sentence would cause a considerable interruption in their flow; hence he is at all times a brief, unmelodious composer, and the broken form of his sentences frequently renders their meaning doubtful. The following specimen, chosen by chance, is an example of a good rule ill observed by its maker: "In arranging a period, it is of importance to determine in what part of it a word makes the greatest figure, whether at the beginning, during the course, or at the close. The breaking silence rouses the attention, and prepares for a deep impression at the beginning; the beginning, however, must yield to the close: which, being succeeded by a pause, affords time for a word to make its deepest impression. Hence the following rule, that to give the utmost force to a period, it ought, if possible, to be closed with that word which makes the greatest figure. The opportunity of a pause should not be thrown away upon accessories, but reserved for the principal object, in order that it may make a full impression: which is an additional reason against closing a period with a circumstance. There are, however, periods that admit not such a structure, and, in that case, the capital word ought, if possible, to be placed in the front, which next to the close, is the most advantageous for making an impression" (v. ii. p. 72). But were we to scrutinize with malicious accuracy, we might find sentences like the following, bidding defiance to form and sense. "Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for savages, unless of the simplest kind, such as the ties of blood," (*Sketches of Hist. of Man*, v. i. p. 270;) or, "Here it is taken for granted, that we see external objects, and that we see them with both eyes in the same place; inadvertently, it must be acknowledged, as it flatly contradicts what he had been all along inculcating,

that external objects are not visible, otherwise than in imagination," (*Essays on Morals*, p. 276). It has been said, and not without reason, that the critical principles of lord Kames are more artificial than natural, more the produce of refined reasoning than of feeling or sentiment. The whole of his deductions are, indeed, founded on the doctrine of taste being increased and improved, and almost formed by art, and his personal character seems not to have suggested any other medium for his own acquisition of it. He joined the vulgar cry of the period on the barbarism of the Gothic architecture, probably because the general disrespect in which it was held prevented him from being anxious to discover any "first principles" on which to erect for it a character of propriety and elegance. In his plans for the improvement of his grounds, we find him falling into practical abortions of taste, of which, had they been presented to him as speculative questions, he might have seen the deformity. In a letter to the accomplished Mrs Montague, he says, "a rill of water runs neglected through the fields, obscured by pretty high banks. It is proposed that the water be raised in different places by stone buildings imitating natural rocks, which will make some beautiful cascades. The banks to be planted with flowering shrubs, and access to the whole by gravel paths. The group will produce a mixture of sweetness and liveliness, which makes fine harmony in gardening as well as in life;" and farther on, "But amongst my other plans, I have not forgot the spot pitched upon by you for a seat; and because every thing belonging to you should have something peculiar, the bottom, to be free from wet, is contrived to fold up, and to have for its ornament a plate of brass with this inscription, 'rest, and contemplate the beauties of art and nature.'" The *Elements of Criticism* had the good fortune to call forth a little of the virulence of Warburton, who seems to have complacently presumed that lord Kames composed his three thick volumes with the sole and atrocious aim of opposing some of the theories of the learned divine; and Voltaire, celtifying the author by the anomalous name of "Makaims," has bestowed on him a few sneers, sparingly sprinkled with praise, provoked by the unfortunate Scotsman having spoken of the *Henriade* in slighting terms, and having lauded Shakspeare to the prejudice of the French drama.

In April, 1763, lord Kames was appointed a lord of justiciary, in the criminal court of Scotland. Some have accused him of severity as a judge; but in the character of the man who can stretch the law against the criminal, there is something so repugnant, and—acting in a court where judges decide very much from discretion, and from which the accused enjoys no appeal—something so truly abhorrent, that we would require much and strong evidence indeed, before we could attribute to a man of great benevolence, of much and tried philanthropy, and of general virtue, the characteristic of a cruel judge. Surrounded by judicial duties and immersed in professional and literary studies, he was still an active supporter of the useful institutions which he had some time previously joined, investigating along with the celebrated Dr Walker, the proper grounds for improving the cultivation and manufactures of the Western Isles, and the more remote parts of Scotland. In 1766, a new field was opened for his exertions, by his succession, through the death of his wife's brother, to the extensive estate of Blair Drummond, which made him a richer, but not a more illustrious man. The chief circumstance which renders this accession to his fortune interesting to the world, is the commencement of a vast system of improvement, by floating into the Firth of Forth the surface of a moss, extending over portions of his own, and many contiguous estates, and shrouding what cultivation has made and is still making the finest land in Scotland. The next issue from the pen of lord Kames, were, a small pamphlet on the Progress of Flax Husbandry in Scotland, published in the year 1765, and in the ensuing year, a

continuation of his Remarkable Decisions from 1730 to 1752. He now began to approach that age which has been marked out as a period reached by a small proportion of the human race, but though stricken in years, and pressed upon by official duties, he did not flinch from a new and elaborate undertaking on a subject of many diversified branches, some of which were totally disconnected with his previous literary labours. Lord Kames appears to have had his mind perpetually filled with the matter he was preparing to discuss, and to have constantly kept open to the world the engrossing matter of his thoughts; it is thus that, for some time previously to the publication of his "*Sketches of the History of Man*," (which appeared in 1774,) we find an ample correspondence with his literary friends,—with Dr Walker, Sir James Nasmyth, Dr Reid, and Dr Black, affording some most interesting speculations on the gradations of the human race, and the analogy between plants and animal subjects—which had long been speculated upon by our author. On these branches of philosophy, he has bestowed considerable attention in the *Sketches of the History of Man*, to little satisfaction. In reasoning *a priori* from the history of man in the world, and the various aspects of his tribe, the author erects a system in opposition to that of revelation, to which however he afterwards yields, as to the authority of the court, allowing it to be true, not by any means from the superiority of the system to his own, but because holy writ has told it. But if the work be hereafter perused, to gratify an idle hour with its amusing details, few will search in it for much information on a subject which has received so much better illustration from Blumenbach, Pritchard, and Lawrence. But the subjects of these sketches are multifarious; Ossian's poems are ingeniously introduced as part of the history of man, constituting a sort of barbaro-civilized period, when probably the same amount of polish and of rudeness which still exists, held sway, though without neutralizing each other, and both displayed in the extreme; government is also discussed, and finances. The political economy is old and narrow, looking upon national means too much in the light of an engine to be wielded, rather than as a self-acting power, which only requires freedom and room to enable it to act; nevertheless it is sprinkled with enlightened views such as the following: "It appears to be the intention of Providence, that all nations should benefit by commerce, as by sunshine; and it is so ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers, as well as to the losers: the latter are immediate sufferers; but not less so ultimately are the former."

In his latter days, the subject of our memoir produced four more extensive works, of which we shall only mention the names and dates: "*The Gentleman Farmer*," in 1776,—"*Elucidations respecting the Common Law of Scotland*," in 1777,—"*Select Decisions of the Court of Session from 1752 to 1768*," published in 1780,—"*Loose Hints on Education*." The last of his works, was published in 1781, in the 85th year of the author's age, a period when the weakness of the body cannot fail to communicate itself to the thoughts. The green old age of lord Kames seems to have been unbittered by no disease but that of general decay. He continued his usual attention to the agricultural and manufacturing projects of the country; gratified his few leisure hours in the society of his select literary friends, attended the court of session, and even performed the arduous duty of travelling on the circuits: he was indeed a singular specimen of a mind whose activity age could not impede. His correspondence continues till within a short time of his death, and before leaving the world, he could spare some consideration for assisting in the establishment of an institution, the pleasures and profits of which could not be reaped by him, The Royal Society of Scotland. During his short and last illness, he expressed no dread except that he might outlive the faculties of his mind; to the usual solicitations, which



friends can never avoid making on such occasions, that he would submit himself to the care of a physician—"Don't talk of my disease," he answered, "I have no disease but old age. I know that Mrs Drummond and my son are of a different opinion; but why should I distress them sooner than is necessary. I know well that no physician on earth can do me the smallest service: for I feel that I am dying; and I thank God that my mind is prepared for that event. I leave this world in peace and good-will to all mankind. You know the dread I have had of outliving my faculties; of that I trust there is now no great probability, as my body decays so fast. My life has been a long one, and prosperous, on the whole, beyond my deserts: but I would fain indulge the hope that it has not been useless to my fellow creatures."

A week before he died, Lord Kames took a final farewell of his old friends and professional companions, on that bench to which he had been so long an ornament. He parted from each as a private friend, and on finally retiring from the room, is said to have turned round on the sorrowful group and bid his adieu in an old favourite epithet, more expressive of jovial freedom than of refinement. He died on the 27th of December, 1782, in the 87th year of his age. We have narrated the events of his life with so much detail, that a summary of his character is unnecessary; he is said to have been parsimonious, but if the epithet be applicable, the private defect will be forgotten in the midst of his public virtues. He possessed the dangerous and powerful engine of sarcasm; but he used it to heal, not to wound. The following instance of his reluctance to give pain, to be found in a letter to Mr Creech, is so characteristic of a truly worthy man, that we cannot abstain from quoting it. "In the fifth volume of Dodsley's collection of poems, there is one by T—— D—— at page 226, which will make a good illustration of a new Rule of Criticism that is to go into the new edition of the Elements; but, as it is unfavourable to the author of that poem, I wish to know whether he is alive; for I would not willingly give pain."

HOME, JOHN, an eminent dramatic poet, was born at Leith on the 22d of September, (O.S.) 1722. He was the son of Mr Alexander Home, town-clerk of Leith, whose father was the son of Mr Home of Flass, in Berwickshire, a lineal descendant of Sir John Home of Cowdenknowes, from whom the present earl of Home is descended. John Home, who during his whole life retained a proud recollection of his honourable ancestry, was educated, first at the grammar school of his native town, and then at the university of Edinburgh. In both of these seminaries, he prosecuted his studies with remarkable diligence and success. While he attended the university, his talents, his progress in literature, and his peculiarly agreeable manners, soon excited the attention, and procured in no small degree the favour, both of the professors and of his fellow students. He here formed an acquaintance which lasted through life, with many of those eminent men, who elevated the literary character of Scotland so highly during the eighteenth century. After qualifying himself by the ordinary course of studies, to undertake the duties of a clergyman in the Scottish church, he was licensed to preach on the 4th of April, 1745.

The natural character of Home was ardent and aspiring. Under the meek garb of a Scottish licentiate, he bore a heart which throbbed eagerly at the idea of military fame, and the whole cast of his mind was romantic and chivalrous. It might have been expected that, in the celebrated quarrel which divided the national mind in 1745, such a person would have been unable to resist the temptation of joining prince Charles. It happened, however, that the chivalry of Home was of a whiggish cast, and that his heart burned for civil freedom as well as for military glory. He therefore became a volunteer in a royal corps which was raised at Edinburgh to repel the attack of the Chevalier. This corps,

when the danger approached in all its reality, melted almost into thin air : yet Home was one of a very small number who protested against the pusillanimous behaviour of the rest. Having reluctantly laid down his arms, he employed himself next day in taking observations of the strength of the Highland forces, which he appears to have communicated to Sir John Cope : while thus engaged, he was near enough to the prince to measure his stature against his own. In the early part of the succeeding year, he reappeared in arms as a volunteer, and was present at the disgraceful affair of Falkirk, where he was taken prisoner. Being conveyed to Doune castle, then under the keeping of a nephew of Rob Roy, he was confined for some days, along with several companions in misfortune ; but the whole party at length escaped, by cutting their blankets into shreds, and letting themselves down upon the ground. He now took up his residence at Leith, and for some time prosecuted his professional studies, mixed, however, with a kind of reading to which his inclination led, that of the historians and classics of Greece and Rome.

“ His temper,” says his friendly biographer Mackenzie, “ was of that warm susceptible kind, which is caught by the heroic and the tender, and which is more fitted to delight in the world of sentiment than to succeed in the bustle of ordinary life. His own favourite model of a character, and that on which his own was formed, was the ideal being *Young Norval* in his own play of Douglas, one endowed with chivalrous valour and romantic generosity, eager for glory beyond any other object, and, in the contemplation of future fame, entirely regardless of the present objects of interest and ambition. The same glowing complexion of mind, which gave birth to this creature of fancy, coloured the sentiments and descriptions of his ordinary discourse ; he had a very retentive memory, and was fond of recalling the incidents of past times, and of dramatizing his stories by introducing the names and characters of the persons concerned in them. The same turn of mind threw a certain degree of elevation into his language, and heightened the narrative in which that language was employed ; he spoke of himself with a frankness which a man of that disposition is apt to indulge, but with which he sometimes forgot that his audience was not always inclined to sympathize, and thence he was accused of more vanity than in truth belonged to his character. The same warm colouring was employed in the delineation of his friends, to whom he assigned a rank which others would not always allow. So far did he carry this propensity, that, as Dr Robertson used jokingly to say, he invested them with a sort of supernatural privilege above the ordinary humiliating circumstances of mortality. ‘ He never,’ said the Doctor, ‘ could allow that a friend was sick till he heard of his death.’ To the same source was to be traced the warm eulogia which he was accustomed to bestow upon them. ‘ He delighted in bestowing as well as in receiving flattery,’ said another of his intimates ; ‘ but with him it had all the openness and warmth of truth. He flattered all of us, from whom his flattery could gain no favour, fully as much, or, indeed, more willingly, than he did those men of the first consequence and rank, with whom the circumstances of his future life associated him ; and he received any praise from us with the same genuine feelings of friendship and attachment.’ There was no false coinage in this currency which he used in his friendly intercourse ; whether given or received, it had with him the stamp of perfect candour and sincerity.”

Such was the enthusiastic young man who was destined for the strange glory of producing, in Scotland, a tragedy upon a Scottish story. In 1746, he was presented by Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton, to the church and parish of Athelstaneford in East Lothian, then vacant by the death of the Rev. Robert Blair, the author of the *Grave*. Previous to this period, his passionate fondness

for Plutarch, had led him to commence a tragedy upon one of his heroes—Agis—which he finished soon after he was settled in Athelstaneford. In 1749, he went to London, and offered his work to Garrick, for representation at Drury Lane, of which that great actor had recently become manager. But the English Roscius did not think it well adapted to the stage, and declined bringing it on, much to the mortification of the author, who, with the feeling natural to such a situation, wrote the following verses on the tomb of Shakspeare, in Westminster Abbey :

Image of Shakspeare! to this place I come,  
To ease my bursting bosom at thy tomb;  
For neither Greek nor Roman poet fired  
My fancy first—thee chiefly I admired;  
And, day and night revolving still thy page,  
I hoped, like thee, to shake the British stage;  
But cold neglect is now my only meed,  
And heavy falls it on so proud a head.  
If powers above now listen to my lyre,  
Charm them to grant, indulgent, my desire;  
Let petrification stop this falling tear,  
And fix my form for ever marble here.

After this unsuccessful journey to London, he turned his mind to the composition of the tragedy of Douglas, which was founded upon the beautiful old ballad of Gil Morris. Having finished this in the intervals of his professional labours, he set out upon another expedition to the metropolis, February, 1755, with the favourable hopes of a circle of most intelligent friends, to whom he had intrusted it for perusal. It was, however, as ill received as Agis: Mr Garrick returned it with the declaration that it was totally unfit for the stage. With this opinion, which many excellent English critics still maintain, neither the poet nor his friends were at all satisfied. Those friends, looking upon it with the eyes of Scotsmen, beheld in it something quite superior to the ordinary run of English tragedies; and accordingly they recommended that it should be presented upon the Edinburgh stage, which was then conducted by a gentleman named Digges, whom Mr Mackenzie describes as possessed of great powers, (though with many defects,) and of great popularity in Scotland. The recommendation was carried into effect; and all Edinburgh was presently in a state of wild excitement, from the circumstance of a play being in preparation by a minister of the established church.<sup>1</sup> The actors at the Edinburgh theatre hap-

<sup>1</sup> If we are to believe an authority good in theatrical matters—the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* newspaper, while under the management of Mr Edward Hislop,—Dr Carlyle, and others of his brethren, not only attended the rehearsals of *Douglas*, but themselves performed in the first of them: "It may not be generally known," says the authority just referred to, "that the first rehearsal took place in the lodgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs Sarah Warde, one of Digges's company; and that it was rehearsed by, and in presence of, the most distinguished literary characters Scotland ever could boast of. The following was the cast of the piece on the occasion:—

*Dramatis Personæ.*

Lord Randolph,	. . .	Dr Robertson, principal, Edinburgh.
Glenalvon,	. . .	David Hume, historian.
Old Norval,	. . .	Dr Carlyle, minister of Musselburgh.
Douglas,	. . .	John Home, the author.
Lady Randolph,	. . .	Dr Ferguson, professor.
Anna (the Maid),	. . .	Dr Blair, minister, High Church.

The audience that day, besides Mr Digges and Mrs Warde, were the right honourable Patrick lord Elibank, lord Milton, lord Kames, lord Monboddo, (the two last were then only lawyers,) the Rev. John Steele and William Home, ministers. The company, all but Mrs Warde, dined afterwards at the Griskin Club, in the Abbey. The above is a signal proof of the strong passion for the drama which then obtained among the *literati* of this capital, since

pened to be, in general, men of some ability in their profession, and the play was thus cast : Digges, *Young Norval* ; Hayman, *Old Norval* ; Love, *Glenalvon* ; Mrs Warde, *Lady Randolph*. But the name Barnet was at this time used for Randolph, and Norval was called Norman. The first representation, which took place December 14, 1756, was honoured by the presence of a large audience, comprising many friends of the author, clerical as well as otherwise. It was received with enthusiastic applause, and, in the conclusion, drew forth many tears, which were, perhaps, a more unequivocal testimony to its merits. The town was in an uproar of exultation, that a Scotsman should write a tragedy of the first rate, and that its merits were first submitted to them.

But the most remarkable circumstance attending its representation was the clerical contest which it excited, and the proceedings of the church of Scotland regarding it. Owing to certain circumstances,—among which was reckoned the publication of lord Kames's " *Essays on Natural and Revealed Religion*," which were suspected of a tendency to infidelity, besides the issue of a work in England, entitled " *England's Alarm*," in which Scotland was accused of cherishing great corruptions in religion,—there obtained in the church a more zealous disposition than usual to lop off heresies, and chastise peccant brethren. Hence the prosecution raised against Mr Home, which at any rate must have taken place, was characterized by an appearance of rancour which has often since been the subject of ridicule.

The presbytery of Edinburgh commenced the proceedings by publishing a solemn admonition ; in which they expressed deep regret at the growing irregularity of the times, and warned all persons within their bounds, especially the young, against the danger of frequenting stage-plays. This document only provoked the mirth of the public ; it was replied to by a perfect torrent of *jeux d'esprit*. The church, however, though unable to inflict any punishment upon the people at large for their admiration of the play, had the author and all his

then, unfortunately, much abated. The rehearsal must have been conducted with very great secrecy ; for what would the kirk, which took such deep offence at the composition of the piece by one of its ministers, have said to the fact of no fewer than four of these being engaged in rehearsing it, and two others attending the exhibition ! The circumstance of the gentle Anna having been personated by ' Dr Blair, minister of the High Church,' is a very droll one."—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*, January 21, 1829.

This statement may not be accurate—it is only a quotation from a newspaper ; but assuming that it has some truth in it, we hesitate not to say that it is far from being either " droll " or creditable to the eminent persons to whom it refers : " Sir," said Dr Johnson, upon one occasion, " this merriment of persons is very offensive."

As to Dr Robertson's share in these transactions, it is only fair to quote what is said by his biographer. Mr Stewart's words are as follows : " The extraordinary merits of Mr Home's performance, which is now become to Scotsmen a subject of national pride, were not sufficient to atone for so bold a departure from the austerity expected in a presbyterian divine ; and the offence was not a little exasperated by the conduct of some of Mr Home's brethren, who, partly from curiosity, and partly from a friendly wish to share in the censure bestowed on the author, were led to witness the first representation of the piece on the Edinburgh stage. In the whole course of the ecclesiastical proceedings connected with these incidents, Dr Robertson distinguished himself by the ablest and most animated exertions in defence of his friends ; and contributed greatly, by his persuasive eloquence, to the mildness of that sentence in which the prosecution at last terminated. His arguments, on this occasion, had, it may be presumed, the greater weight, that he had never himself entered within the walls of a playhouse ; a remarkable proof, among numberless others which the history of his life affords, of that scrupulous circumspection in his private conduct, which, while it added so much to his usefulness as a clergyman, was essential to his influence as the leader of a party ; and which so often enabled him to recommend successfully to others the same candid and indulgent spirit that was congenial to his own mind."—*Account of the Life and Writings of Dr Robertson*, by Dugald Stewart, Esq., p. 12.

In this passage Mr Stewart discountenances, in general terms, the belief that the Principal gave the tragedy of *Douglas* any active patronage, by attending the representations or otherwise ; but the statement that Dr Robertson " had never himself entered within the walls of a playhouse," cannot be considered as an absolute contradiction of his having been present at the rehearsal " in the ledgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs Sarah Warde."

clerical abettors completely in their power. Mr Home only escaped degradation by abdicating his pulpit, which he did in June, 1757. His friends who had been present at the representation, were censured or punished according to the degree of their supposed misconduct. Mr White, the minister of Libberton, was suspended for a month, a mitigated sentence in consideration of his apology, which was—that he had attended the representation only once, when he endeavoured to conceal himself in a corner, to avoid giving offence.

The misfortune of the Scottish church, on this occasion, consisted only in a little want of discrimination. They certainly did not err in characterizing the stage as immoral; for the stage, both then and since, and in almost all periods of its existence, has condescended to represent scenes, and give currency to language, which, in the general society of the period, could not be tolerated. But though the stage seems thus to claim a privilege of lagging behind the moral standard of every age, and in general calculates itself for the gratification of only a secondary order of tastes, there was surely something to be said in favour of a man who, having devoted his leisure to the cultivation of an elegant branch of the belles lettres, had produced a work not calculated to encourage the immoral system complained of, but to correct it by introducing a purer taste, or which could at least not be played, without for that night preventing the representation of something more fatal to good manners. The church ought rather to have been rejoiced than saddened, at finding a stream of pure feeling disposed to turn itself into the Augean stable of the theatre; because they might have calculated, since men cannot be withheld from that place of amusement, the next best course is to make the entertainment as innocent as possible.

Mr Home had been introduced some years before, by Sir David Kinloch, the patron of his parish, to lord justice clerk Milton, who then acted as *Sous Ministre* for Scotland, under Archibald duke of Argyle. Being introduced by lord Milton to the duke, his grace said that, being now too old to be of any material service in improving his prospects, he would commit him to his nephew, the earl of Bute, who was succeeding to that nameless situation of trust and patronage which had been so long held by himself. Accordingly, on Mr Home's going to London in 1757, he was kindly received by lord Bute, who, having that influence with Garrick which had been found wanting in the merit of the play itself, soon caused it to be brought out at Drury Lane. Notwithstanding Garrick's unchanged opinion of its merit, it met with distinguished success.

Lord Bute, besides procuring Mr Home this highest gratification which he was capable of receiving, provided for his personal wants by obtaining for him the sinecure situation of conservator of Scots privileges at Campvere. Thus secure as to the means of subsistence, the poet reposed with tranquillity upon his prospects of dramatic fame. His tragedy of *Agis*, which had been written before Douglas, but rejected, was brought forward, and met with success, Garrick and Mrs Cibber palyng the principal characters. The *Siege of Aquileia* was represented in 1750, but, owing to a want of interest in the action, did not secure the favour of the audience. In 1760, he printed his three tragedies in one volume, and dedicated them to the prince of Wales, whose society he had enjoyed through the favour of the earl of Bute, preceptor to the prince. When this royal personage became king, he signified his favour for Mr Home by granting him a pension of £300 a-year from his privy purse—which, in addition to an equal sum from his office of conservator, rendered him what in Scotland might be considered affluent. About this period, he spent the greater part of his time in London, but occasionally came to Scotland, to attend his duties as an elder in the General Assembly, being appointed to that trust by the ecclesiastical establishment at Campvere, which then enjoyed a representation in the great clerical council of the nation. In 1767, he forsook almost

entirely the company of the earl of Bute and his other distinguished friends at London, and planted himself down in a villa, which he built near his former residence in East Lothian, and where he continued to reside for the next twelve years. To increase the felicity of a settled home, he married a lady of his own name in 1770, by whom he never had any children.

Three tragedies, the *Fatal Discovery*, *Alonzo*, and *Alfred*, successively appeared in 1769, 1773, and 1778; but, though received at first with considerable applause, they took no permanent hold of the stage; and thus seemed to confirm the opinion which many English critics had avowed in regard to the success of *Douglas*—that it was owing to no peculiar powers of dramatic composition in the author, but simply to the national character of the piece, with a slight aid from its exhibition of two very popular passions, maternal and filial tenderness.<sup>2</sup> The reception of the last mentioned play was so cool, that he ceased from that time to write for the stage.

\* "As we sat over our tea," says Boswell on this subject, "Mr Home's tragedy of *Douglas* was mentioned. I put Dr Johnson in mind that once, in a Coffee-house at Oxford, he called to old Mr Sheridan, 'How came you, sir, to give Home a gold medal \* for writing that foolish play?' and defied Mr Sheridan to show ten good lines in it. He did not insist that they should be together; but that there were not ten good lines in the whole play. He now persisted in this. I endeavoured to defend that pathetic and beautiful tragedy, and repeated the following passage:

Sincerity,  
Thou first of virtues, let no mortal leave  
Thy onward path, altho' the earth should gape,  
And from the gulph of hell destruction cry,  
To take dissimulation's winding way.

Johnson. 'That will not do, sir. Nothing is good but what is consistent with truth or probability, which this is not. Juvenal indeed gives us a noble picture of inflexible virtue:

Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem  
Integer: ambigua si quando citabere testis  
Incertaque rei, Phalaris licet imperet, ut sis  
Falsus, et admoto dictet perjuriam tauro,  
Summum crede nefas, animam præferre pudori,  
Et, propter vitam, vitæ perdere causas.'

He repeated the lines with great force and dignity; then added, 'And after this comes Johnny Home, with his *earth gaping* and his *destruction crying*!—Pooh!'—*Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.

It must be acknowledged Boswell was not fortunate in the specimen he produced, and that the passage quoted by Johnson from Juvenal is infinitely superior. The circumstances attending the representation of *Douglas* were not such as to dispose an English critic to allow its merit. In the first place, the national taste was in some degree committed in the judgment passed upon the play by the favourite actor and manager; and it was not only galling to himself, but to all who relied upon his taste, that he should have been mistaken. In the next place, the Scots did not use their triumph with discretion; they talked of the merits of *Douglas* in a strain quite preposterous, and of which no unfair specimen is to be found in the anecdote of a Caledonian who, being present in the pit of Drury Lane one night of its performance, is said to have exclaimed, in the insolence of his exultation, "Whar's your Wulley Shakspeare nou?" Such ridiculous pretensions are now forgotten; but they were advanced at the time, and, from their extreme arrogance and absurdity, could not fail to exasperate a mind so ready to repel insult as Johnson's, and so keenly alive as his was to the honour of the national literature of England. The natural consequence followed: he decried *Douglas* perhaps as much as it was overvalued by its admirers; and his acquaintance with far superior compositions, must have enabled him, as in the instance above quoted, to pour derision upon it with an effect which the more judicious part of its admirers could not contend with, the more especially as the noise of indiscriminating applause with which it was hailed, had induced them to assume higher ground than their sober judgment would have led them to fix upon. And indeed, it may be a question whether the same cause that contributed to the first popularity of *Douglas* does not still continue to operate, preserving to our only tragedy a higher rank than it really is entitled to occupy: it is rare that the parents of an only child do not love and admire him for virtues which all the world else fails to discover that he is possessed of.

\* "The elder Sheridan, then manager of the theatre at Dublin, sent Mr Home a gold medal in testimony of his admiration of *Douglas*; and his wife, a woman not less respectable for her virtues than for genius and accomplishments, drew the idea of her admired novel of *Sydney Biddulph*, as her introduction bears, from the genuine moral effect of that excellent tragedy."—*MacKenzie's Life of Home*, p. 47.

Mr Home, as already mentioned, lived in terms of the greatest intimacy with all the literary men of his time : he seems, however, to have cherished no friendship with so much ardour as that which he entertained for his philosophical namesake David Hume. During the course of a lengthened period of friendly intercourse with this individual, only two trifling differences had ever risen between them. One referred to the orthography of their name, which the dramatic poet spelt after the old and constant fashion of his family, while the philosopher had early in life assumed the spelling indicated by the pronunciation. David Hume, at one time, jocularly proposed that they should determine this controversy by casting lots ; but the poet answered, "Nay, that is a most extraordinary proposal, indeed, Mr Philosopher, for, if you lose, you take your own name, whereas, if I lose, I take another man's name.

The other controversy referred merely to their taste in wine. Mr John Home had the old Scottish prepossession in favour of claret, and utterly detested port. When the former drink was expelled from the market by high duties, he wrote the following epigram, as it has been called, though we confess we are at a loss to observe anything in it but a narrative of supposed facts :—

" Firm and erect the Caledonian stood,  
Old was his mutton, and his claret good ;  
' Let him drink port,' an English statesman cried—  
He drank the poison, and his spirit died."

David Hume, who to his latest breath continued the same playful being he had ever been, made the following allusion to the two controversies, in a codicil to his will, dated only eighteen days before his death. "I leave to my friend Mr John Home of Kilduff, ten dozen of my old claret at his choice ; and one other bottle of that other liquor called port. I also leave him six dozen of port, provided that he attests, under his hand, signed John Hume, that he has himself alone finished that bottle at two sittings. By this concession he will at once terminate the only two differences that ever arose between us concerning temporal matters."

When this eccentric philosopher was recommended for his health to pay a visit to Bath, his faithful friend Home accompanied him, and was of great service, by his lively conversation and kind attentions, in supporting him against the attacks of a virulent disease. The journey took place in April, 1776, and Mr Mackenzie has preserved a curious diary by Mr Home, detailing the principal matters which passed between him and his fellow traveller in conversation. Many of the anecdotes told by the philosopher are exceedingly valuable as snatches of what is styled secret history.

Mr Home spent the latter moiety of his long life in a state little removed from indolence. He removed to Edinburgh in 1779, and thenceforward lived in the enjoyment of that high literary society which the character of his mind fitted him to enjoy, and in which his income fortunately permitted him to indulge. Careless of money in the highest degree, he delighted in entertaining large companies of friends, and often had his house filled to a degree which would now be considered intolerable, with permanent guests.

The only production of his later years was a History of the Rebellion of 1745 ; a transaction of which he was entitled to say, *pars sui*. He had projected something of the kind soon after the event, but did not proceed with it till after he had given up dramatic writing. If there was any literary man of the day from whom, rather than from any other, a good work upon this subject might have been confidently expected, it was Mr Home, who had not only taken a strong personal interest in the affair, but possessed that generous and chival-

rous colour of mind which was most apt to do it justice in narration. Unfortunately, before setting about this work, he had met with an accident by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which his intellect was permanently affected. As a pensioner of king George III., he was also prevented from giving that full expression to his sentiments which was so necessary in the historian of such an event. This work, therefore, when it appeared in 1802, was found to be a miserable sketchy outline of the transaction, rather than a complete narrative—here and there, indeed, as copious as was to be wished, and also showing occasional glimpses of the poetical genius of the author, but in general “stale, flat, and unprofitable.” The imperfections of the work have been partly accounted for, without contradiction, by the circumstance of its having been submitted to the inspection of the reigning family, with the understanding that they were at liberty to erase such passages as they did not wish to be made public.

Mr Hope died on the 5th of September, 1808, when he was just on the point of completing his eighty-sixth year. As a man, he was gentle and amiable, a very warm friend, and incapable of an ungenerous feeling. As a poet, he deserves the credit of having written with more fervid feeling, and less of stiffness and artificiality, than the other poets of his time; his genius in this respect approaching to that of his friend Collins. The present age, however, has, by its growing indifference to even his sole successful play, pronounced that his reputation on account of that exertion, was in a great measure the result of temporary and local circumstances, and that, being ill based, it cannot last.

HOPE, (SIR) JOHN, latterly earl of Hopetoun, a celebrated military commander, was son to John, second earl of Hopetoun, by his second marriage with Jane, daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, in the county of Perth. He was born at Hopetoun in the county of Linlithgow, on the 17th of August, 1766. After finishing his education at home, he travelled on the continent, where he had the advantage of the superintendence of Dr Gillies, author of the *History of Greece*, now historiographer to the king. Mr Hope entered the army as a volunteer at a period so early as his 15th year, and on the 28th of May, 1784, received a cornetcy in the 10th regiment of light dragoons. We shall briefly note his gradual rise as an officer until he reached that rank, in which he could appropriate opportunities of distinguishing himself. On the 24th of December, 1785, he was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 100th foot; on the 31st October, 1789, to a company in the 17th dragoons; on the 25th of April, 1792, to a majority in the 2nd foot; and on the 26th of April, 1793, to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the 25th foot. It was the period when the claims of rank began to meet with less observance in the British army, and severer duties called for the assistance of active and persevering men; and these had before them a sure road to honour. So early as 1794, lieutenant-colonel Hope was appointed to the arduous situation of adjutant-general to Sir Ralph Abercromby when serving in the Leeward islands; during the three ensuing years he was actively employed in the campaigns in the West Indies, where he held the rank of brigadier-general; during this service he is characterized in the despatches of the commander-in-chief, as one who “on all occasions most willingly came forward and exerted himself in times of danger, to which he was not called, from his situation as adjutant-general.”

In the parliament of 1796, Mr Hope was returned as member for Linlithgowshire: as a legislator he has been very little known, and he soon relinquished a duty not probably according with his taste and talents. As a deputy adjutant-general he attended the expedition to Holland, in August, 1799, having, in the interval betwixt his services abroad, performed the duty of a colonelcy in the north Lowland fencibles. In the sharp fighting at the landing at the Helder,



with which the proceedings of the secret expedition to Holland commenced, colonel Hope had the misfortune to be so severely wounded as to render his farther attendance on the expedition impracticable. From the effects of his wound he recovered during the ensuing October, when he was appointed adjutant-general to the duke of York, lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, his brother by his father's third marriage, being appointed his successor as deputy adjutant-general. In 1800, colonel Hope joined the expedition to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had been his commanding officer at the attack on the Helder. He still acted as adjutant-general, and on the 13th of May he was appointed brigadier-general in the Mediterranean. Were we to follow this active officer's footsteps through the progress of the Egyptian war, we should merely repeat what the best pens in Europe have been engaged in discussing for thirty years, and what generally is known; suffice it to say, that he was engaged in the actions of 8th and 13th March, 1801, and that he received a wound on the hand at the battle of Alexandria. In June he was able to proceed with the army to Cairo, where he has received credit as an able negotiator, for the manner in which he settled the convention for the surrender of that place with the French commander, general Belliard. On the 11th of May, 1802, he was promoted to the rank of a major-general. On the 30th of June, 1805, he was appointed deputy governor of Portsmouth: an office he resigned the same year, on being nominated to a command with the troops sent to the continent under lord Cathcart. On the 3rd of October, 1805, he was made colonel of the 2nd battalion of the 60th foot, and on the 3rd of January, 1806, colonel of the 92nd foot. On the 25th of April, 1808, he was made a lieutenant-general.<sup>1</sup>

Lieutenant-general Hope was among the most eminent and persevering partakers in that exterminating war in the Peninsula, where, as in the conflicts of ancient nations, every thing gained was the price of blood. On the 8th of August he landed with the British forces in Portugal;—during the ensuing month he was appointed British commandant at Lisbon; and on the French gradually evacuating the town, in terms of their convention, he took possession of the castle of Belem on the 10th, and of the citadel on the 12th. The restless spirit of the Portuguese, on the knowledge that the French were to leave the country, caused their long-smothered indignation to appear in insults, threats, and even attempts on the lives of the general officers; to depart in safety was the object of the French, and general Hope had the difficult task of preventing the oppressed people from making dangerous displays of public feeling, a duty he performed with moderation and energy, and which he was enabled finally to complete.

Sir John Moore divided his forces into two columns, one of which under his own command, marched by Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, while the other proceeded to the Tagus under the command of general Hope. While thus separated from his celebrated commander, both experienced the full danger and doubt which so amply characterized the disastrous campaign. The few Spanish troops who had struck a blow for their country, fleeing towards the Tagus, brought to general Hope the traces of the approach of the victorious French. His column, consisting of three thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, were in want and difficulty. The inhospitable country afforded insufficient supplies of provision, they were destitute of money, and of many necessary articles

<sup>1</sup> These dry details of military advancement, which we would willingly spare our readers, were they not necessary for the completeness of a biography, we have copied from the *Annual Biography and Obituary for 1824*, a source from which we derive all the dates in this memoir, judging it one likely to be depended on.

of military store. To enable his troops in some measure to obtain supplies, he separated his whole column into six divisions, each a day's march distant from the others, and thus passing through an uncultivated country destitute of roads, whose few inhabitants could give no assistance and could not be trusted, and harassed by the neighbourhood of a powerful enemy, he had to drag his artillery and a large park of ammunition to join the commander-in-chief, whose safety depended on his speedy approach. At Almaraz he endeavoured to discover some path which might guide him through the hills to Ciudad Rodrigo, but not finding one easily accessible, the jaded state of his few remaining horses compelled him to relinquish the attempt to cross these regions. On reaching Talavera, to the other evils with which he had to contend was added the folly or perfidy of the Spanish functionaries: the secretary at war recommended to him a method of passing through Madrid, which on consideration he found would have been the most likely of all methods to throw him into the hands of the French army. Resolving to make a last effort to obtain assistance from the nation for which the British troops were wasting their blood, he proceeded in person to Madrid; but the uncontrolled confusion of the Spanish government threw additional clouds on his prospects, and he found that the safety of his men must depend on their own efforts. Avoiding the path so heedlessly proposed, he passed Naval Carnero, and reached Escorial, where he halted to bring up his rear, and to obtain bullocks for dragging his artillery and ammunition. Having crossed the mountains on the sixth day after leaving Madrid, his situation became more melancholy, and he fell into deeper difficulties. He received the intelligence of additional disasters among the Spaniards; and his scouts traced the vicinity of parties of the enemy. "The general's situation," says colonel Napier in his *History of the Peninsular War*, "was now truly embarrassing. If he fell back to the Guadarama, the army at Salamanca would be without ammunition or artillery. If he advanced, it must be by a flank march of three days, with a heavy convoy, over a flat country, and within a few hours' march of a very superior cavalry. If he delayed where he was, even for a few hours, the French on the side of Segovia might get between him and the pass of Guadarama, and then, attacked in front, flank, and rear, he would be reduced to the shameful necessity of abandoning his convoy and guns, to save his men in the mountains of Avila. A man of less intrepidity and calmness would have been ruined; but Hope, as enterprising as he was prudent, without any hesitation ordered the cavalry to throw out parties cautiously towards the French, and to maintain a confident front if the latter approached; then moving the infantry and guns from Villacastin, and the convoy from Espinosa, by cross roads to Avila, he continued his march day and night until they reached Penedanda: the cavalry covering this movement closed gradually to the left, and finally occupied Fontiveros on the 2nd of December."<sup>2</sup> Not without additional dangers from the vicinity of the enemy, to the number of ten thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, with forty guns, he at length reached Salamanca, and joined the commander-in-chief. He partook in the measures which the army thus recruited endeavoured to pursue, as a last effort of active hostility, passing with his division the Douro at Tordesillas, and directing his march upon Villepando. In the memorable retreat which followed these proceedings, he had a laborious and perilous duty to perform. He commanded the left wing at the battle of Corunna;—of his share in an event so frequently and minutely recorded it is scarcely necessary to give a detailed account. After the death of the commander-in-chief, and the wound which compelled Sir David Baird to retire from the field, general Hope was left with the honour and responsibility of the supreme

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 437.

command, and in the language of the despatches, to his "abilities and exertions, in the direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his majesty's troops, is to be attributed, under providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy."

It was the immediate decision of Sir John Hope, not to follow up a victory over so powerful an enemy, but taking advantage of the confusion of the French, to proceed with the original design of embarking the troops, a measure performed with true military alacrity and good order, not without the strenuous exertions of the general, who, after the fatigues of the day, personally searched till a late hour the purlieus of the town, to prevent stragglers from falling into the hands of the enemy. General Hope wrote to Sir David Baird a succinct and clear account of the battle, in which his own name seldom occurs. As exhibiting the subdued opinion he expressed of the advantage gained, and as what is very probably a specimen of his style of composition, we quote the following passage from this excellent document: "Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope, that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be, however, to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army which had entered Spain amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from Douro afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources, for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain."

The thanks of his country crowded thickly on general Hope, after the arrival of the despatches in England; a vote of thanks to him and to the officers under his command was unanimously passed in the House of Lords, on the motion of the earl of Liverpool; in the House of Commons, on that of lord Castlereagh. As a reward for *his* services, his *brother* (the earl of Hopetoun) was created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Hopetoun of Hopetoun in the county of Linlithgow, and himself received the order of the bath, in which he was installed two years afterwards, along with twenty-two other knights. Soon after his return to Britain, Sir John was appointed to superintend the military department of the unsatisfactory expedition to the Scheldt. It was the intention of the planners of the expedition, that by landing on the north side of South Beveland, and taking possession of the island, Sir John might incommode the French fleet while it remained near Flushing, and render its retreat more difficult, while it might be subject to the attacks of the British ships. Sir John's division landed near Ter-Goes, took possession of the important post of Baltz, and removed all impediments to the progress of the British vessels in the West Scheldt. For nine days Sir John occupied his post, waiting impatiently for the concerted arrival of the gun-boats under the command of Sir Home Popham, harassed by frequent attacks from the enemy, in one of which they brought down about twenty-eight gun-vessels, and kept up a cannonade for several hours, but were, after much exertion on the part of the general, com-

pelled to retreat. The termination and effect of the expedition are well known, and need not be here repeated. At the termination of the expedition Sir John Hope was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, but he soon left this unpleasant sphere of duty, to return in 1813, to the scene of his former exertions in the Peninsula. At the battle of Nivelle he commanded the left wing, and driving in the enemy's out-posts in front of their entrenchments on the Lower Nivelle, carried the redoubt above Orogue, and established himself on the heights immediately opposite Sibour, in readiness to take advantage of any movement made by the enemy's right. On the 10th of December, nearly the whole army of the enemy left their entrenchments, and having drawn in the piquets, advanced upon Sir John Hope's posts on the high road from Bayonne to St Jean de Luz. At the first onset, Sir John took 500 prisoners, and repulsed the enemy, while he received in the course of the action a severe contusion on the head. The same movement was repeated by the enemy, and they were in a similar manner repulsed. The conduct of Sir John on this occasion has received the approbation of military men, as being cool, judicious, and soldierly; and he received the praises of the duke of Wellington in his despatches.

In this campaign, which began on the frontiers of Portugal, the enemy's line of defence on the Douro had been turned, and after defeat at Vittoria, Soult had been repulsed in his efforts to relieve St Sebastian and Pamplona, and the army of France had retreated behind the Pyrenees. After the fall of the latter place, the army entered France, after many harassing operations, in which the progress of the allies was stoutly impeded by the indomitable Soult. In the middle of February, 1814, the passage of the Adour was accomplished. While the main body of the army under the duke of Wellington, prosecuted the campaign in other quarters, Sir John Hope was left with a division to invest the citadel and town of Bayonne on both banks of the river. Soon after these operations commenced, Sir John received information from two deserters, that the garrison was under arms, and prepared for a sortie before day-light next morning. By means of a feint attack at the moment they were so expected, and by the silent and stealthy movements of some of their men through the rough ground, many of the centinels were killed, and several lines of piquets broken. The nature of the spot, with a hollow way, steep banks, and intercepting walls, deprived those so attacked of the power of retreating, and the whole vicinity was a series of scattered battles, fought hand to hand, with deadly bitterness. The chief defence of the besiegers lay in the fortified convent of St Bernard, and in some buildings in the village of St Etienne; to the latter post Sir John Hope proceeded with his staff, at the commencement of the attack. Through one of the inequalities of the ground already mentioned, which formed a sort of hollow way, Sir John expected to find the nearest path to the village. When almost too late, he discovered that the banks had concealed from him the situation of the enemy, whose line he was just approaching, and gave orders to retreat; before, however, being extricated from the hollow way, the enemy approached within twelve yards' distance, and began firing: Sir John Hope's horse received three balls, and falling, entangled its rider. While the staff attempted to extricate him, the close firing of the enemy continued, and several British officers were wounded, among whom was Sir John himself, and the French soldiers pouring in, made them all prisoners. The French with difficulty extricated him from the fallen horse, and while they were conveying him to the citadel, he was severely wounded in the foot by a ball supposed to have come from the British piquets. From the effects of this encounter he suffered for a considerable period.

On the 3rd of May, Sir John was created a British peer by the title of baron

Niddry of Niddry, county of Linlithgow. He declined being a partaker in the pecuniary grant, which, on the 9th of June ensuing, was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, as a reward for the services of him and other distinguished generals. On the death of his brother by his father's prior marriage, he succeeded to the family title of earl of Hopetoun, and in August, 1819, he attained to the rank of general. He died at Paris, on the 27th August, 1823, in the 58th year of his age. From the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1823, we extract a character of this excellent and able man, which, if it have a small degree too much of the beau ideal in its composition, seems to be better fitted to the person to whom it is applied, than it might be to many equally celebrated.

"As the friend and companion of Moore," says this chronicle, "and as acting under Wellington in the Pyrenean campaign, he had rendered himself conspicuous. But it was when, by succession to the earldom, he became the head of one of the most ancient houses in Scotland, and the possessor of one of its most extensive properties, that his character shone in its fullest lustre. He exhibited then a model, as perfect seemingly as human nature could admit, of the manner in which this eminent and useful station ought to be filled. An open and magnificent hospitality, suited to his place and rank, without extravagance or idle parade, a full and public tribute to the obligations of religion and private morality, without ostentation or austerity; a warm interest in the improvement and welfare of those extensive districts with which his possessions brought him into contact—a kind and generous concern in the welfare of the humblest of his dependents,—these qualities made him beloved and respected in an extraordinary degree, and will cause him to be long remembered."<sup>3</sup>

HOPE, (SIR) THOMAS, an eminent lawyer and statesman of the fifteenth century, and the founder of a family distinguished for its public services, was the son of Henry Hope, a considerable Scottish merchant, whose grandfather, John de Hope, was one of the gentlemen attending Magdalene de Valois, first consort of James V., at her coming into this country in 1537.

Henry Hope, a younger brother of the subject of this memoir, following the profession of his father, was the progenitor of the great and opulent branch of the Hopes of Amsterdam; a house, for extent of commerce and solidity of credit, long considered superior, without exception, to any private mercantile company in the world.

Thomas Hope, after having distinguished himself at school in no small degree, entered upon the study of the law, and made so rapid a progress in juridical knowledge, that he was at a very early age called to the bar. However, like the generality of young lawyers, he enjoyed at first a very limited practice; in 1606, he burst at once upon the world on the following occasion.

Six ministers of the church of Scotland having thought proper to deny that the king and his council possessed any authority in ecclesiastical affairs, were on that account imprisoned for some months in Blackness castle, indicted for high treason, and on the 10th of January, 1606, put upon trial at Linlithgow, before a jury consisting chiefly of landed gentlemen of the three Lothians. As it was carefully promulgated that the king and court had openly expressed the highest displeasure against the ministers, and had declared that they would show no favour

<sup>3</sup> The esteem and affection in which the earl was held in the scenes of private life, and in his character as a landlord, has, since his death, been testified in a remarkable manner by the erection of no fewer than three monuments to his memory, on the tops of as many hills—one in Fife, on the mount of Sir David Lindsay, another in Linlithgowshire, near Hopetoun House, and the third in the neighbourhood of Haddington. It is also intended to erect an equestrian statue of his lordship in some conspicuous part of the New Town of Edinburgh. A correct and masterly engraving of Lord Hopetoun, representing him standing beside his horse, has been published.

to any person that should appear in their behalf, none of the great lawyers chose to undertake their cause; even Sir Thomas Craig, although he was procurator for the church, refused to be concerned in this affair, and Sir William Oliphant, who had at first promised to plead for them, sent word, the day before, that he must decline appearing. The ministers, thus abandoned, applied to Mr Hope, who, pitying their case, with the greatest cheerfulness and resolution undertook their defence; and, notwithstanding the reiterated endeavours of the court to perplex and browbeat him, contradicted it in so skilful and masterly a manner, that he made a deep impression on the jury. However, by an unlawful tampering with the jurors (some of the lords of council having procured admittance to them after they were locked up,) and assurance that no harm was intended against the persons or goods of the accused, nine of the fifteen jurymen were induced to bring in a verdict of guilty, and the ministers were sentenced to banishment forth of the kingdom, which was accordingly executed.

By the commendable intrepidity, knowledge of the law, and singular abilities, manifested by Mr Hope at this important trial, he became so greatly the favourite of the presbyterians, that they never afterwards undertook any important business without consulting him; and he was retained in almost every cause brought by that party into the courts of justice, so that he instantly came into the first practice of any lawyer at that period. By this, in a few years he acquired one of the most considerable fortunes ever made at the Scottish bar; which enabled him to purchase, between 1613 and 1642, the lands of Grantoun, Edmonstoun, and Cauldcolts in Mid Lothian, Prestongrange in East Lothian, Kerse in Stirlingshire, Mertoun in the Merse, Kinninmonth, Arnydie, Craighall, Ceres, Hiltarvet, and others in Fife.

It was the policy of king Charles I. to bestow honours and emoluments upon those who had most power to obstruct his designs, and hence, in 1626, the great presbyterian barrister was made king's advocate, with permission, revived in his favour, to sit in the bar, and be privy to the hearing and determining of all causes, except those in which he was retained by any of the parties. He was also in 1628 created a baronet of Nova Scotia. If the king expected by these means to gain him over from the presbyterians, he was grievously disappointed, for although Sir Thomas discharged the duties of his high office with attention and propriety, his gratitude, principles, and inclination, were all too powerfully engaged to his first friends and benefactors to admit of his deserting them: it was, on the contrary, with pleasure that he beheld that party increasing every day in numbers and consequence. It would draw out this account to too great a length, to enumerate all the various steps taken by them in pursuance of his advice; it is enough to say that he acted as their confidant throughout the whole affair of the resistance of the Liturgy in 1637, and that he was intimately concerned in framing the bond of resistance, entitled the National Covenant, which was subscribed by nearly the whole population of Scotland in the succeeding year. The king, with fatal weakness, nevertheless retained him in an office, which, of all others in the state, implied and required a hearty service of the royal cause. In 1643, when a parliament was required to meet in order to settle the Solemn League and Covenant with the English parliament, Sir Thomas, to get over the dilemma of illegality which must have characterized such a meeting, as it could not legally take place till the next year, recommended a convention of estates upon the precedent of some such transaction in the reign of James V.; and thus was achieved a measure which, more than any other, perhaps, was fatal to the royal cause: the army voted in this irregular meeting being of great avail in the decisive battle of Longmarston-moor, which was fought soon after.

Charles, nevertheless, still persisting in his unfortunate policy, appointed Sir

Thomas Hope to be his commissioner to the General Assembly, which met in August, 1643; an honour never before or since bestowed upon a commoner. The royalists were so much incensed at the appointment of an enemy instead of a friend, that they very generally absented themselves from the assembly, and the field was therefore left in a great measure clear to the covenanters, who carried all before them. As the sanction of this body was necessary to the transaction above alluded to, the credit of the whole, direct or indirect, lies with Sir Thomas Hope.

In 1645, Sir Thomas Hope was appointed one of the commissioners for managing the exchequer, but did not long enjoy that office, dying the next year, 1646. He had the singular happiness of seeing, before his death, two of his sons seated on the bench while he was lord advocate; and it being judged by the Court of Session unbecoming that a father should plead uncovered before his children, the privilege of wearing his hat, while pleading, was granted to him. This privilege his successors in the office of king's advocate have ever since enjoyed, though it is now in danger of being lost through desuetude.

The professional excellencies of Sir Thomas Hope are thus discriminated by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Characteres Advocatorum*. "Hopius mira inventione pollebat, totque illi fundebat argumenta ut amplificatione tempus deesset; non ornabat, sed arguebat, modo uniformi, sed sibi proprio. Nam cum argumentum vel exceptionem protulisset, rationem addebat; et ubi dubia videbatur, rationis rationem. Ita rhetorica non illi defuit, sed inutilis apparuit."

The following are the written or published works of Sir Thomas Hope.—1, *Carmen Seculare in serenissimum Carolum I. Britanniarum Monarcham*, Edin. 1626.—2, *Psalmi Davidis et Canticum Solomonis Latino carmine redditum*, MS.—3, *Major Practicks*.—4, *Minor Practicks*, (a very well known work), —5, *Paratitillo in universo Juris Corpore*.—and 6, *A Genealogie of the Earls of Mar*, MS.

In Wood's *Ancient and Modern account of the Parish of Cramond*, from which the above facts are chiefly taken, is given a very perfect account of the numerous descendants of Sir Thomas Hope, including the noble race of Hope-toun, and many other races distinguished in the two past centuries, by official eminence and public service.

HORNER, FRANCIS, whose virtues, talents, and eloquence, raised him to an eminent rank in public life, while yet a young man, was born at Edinburgh on the 12th of August, 1778. His father, a native of England, but at that time an eminent linen merchant in Edinburgh, took delight in cultivating the excellent talents which his son early displayed, and doubtless contributed much to the formation of those intellectual habits, and sound and liberal principles, which marked the boy as well as the full-grown man. Francis was sent to the High school, where he soon became a favourite with the late Dr Adam, who then presided over that eminent seminary as rector, and who was accustomed to say of his distinguished pupil, that "Francis Horner was the only boy he ever knew who had an old head upon young shoulders." Nor was this remark dictated by undue partiality, although some of the most eminent men of the present day were among young Horner's class-fellows: for he was never known to join in the field-sports or recreations of any of the boys, and he kept the rank of dux at school by his own industry and talents alone, having no private tutor to direct his studies. Francis indeed needed no adventitious aid; but it has been thought by some of his medical friends that these early propensities to retirement and constant study contributed to sow the seeds of that pulmonary disease which assailed his youth, and finally led to an untimely grave.

When removed to the university he enjoyed the instructions of several eminent

professors, and, in particular, attracted the notice of Dugald Stewart: but the theatre, perhaps, which tended more than any other to unfold his talents and views was the Speculative Society, an institution for improvement in public speaking, and in science in general, without peculiar reference to any of the learned professions, the members of which met weekly during the sitting of the college. There are few associations of this kind which have numbered so many young men of splendid talents on their roll of members. Lord Henry Petty, the second son of the first marquis of Lansdown, and Messrs Brougham and Jeffrey were amongst Mr Horner's associates in the arena of debate, and contributed by their mutual influence on each other's minds to invigorate and sharpen those intellectual powers which were afterwards to raise them to stations of the highest eminence and widest influence in society. Mr Horner first directed his attention to the Scottish bar, but like his two last-mentioned friends with very limited success. The attainment of sufficient practice before the Scottish court can only be the result of undismayed perseverance and great industry; real talent will ultimately reach its object there, but the necessary probation is apt to dishearten conscious merit. There was something also in the political character of the times inauspicious to young men of independent principles, who sought to make their way without friends or interest by dint of talent alone; the aristocracy possessed overwhelming influence, and a considerable amount of prejudice existed in the midst of the commonalty against the first manifestations of that more liberal spirit which now began to show itself in various quarters, and more especially characterized the debates of the Speculative Society. The intervention of a jury was also unknown in civil causes, and thus the principal field for forensic eloquence was denied to the youthful aspirant. These considerations appear to have so far weighed with Mr Horner as to induce him, though already admitted a member of faculty, to direct his attention to the English bar; and with this view he left his associates, now busily engaged with the early numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, and repaired to London, where he commenced the study of English jurisprudence.

In the meantime his friend lord H. Petty, after having taken his degree at Cambridge, and visited the continent, returned to England, and was immediately elected one of the two representatives of Calne. In the new parliament just then convoked, this young nobleman soon began to be considered a very able and formidable ally of the opposition; and upon the final success of Mr Fox's party, lord Henry Petty found himself, at the very early age of twenty-one, chancellor of the exchequer, a member of the privy council, and M. P. for the university of Cambridge. In this commanding situation he strongly recommended his young Scottish friend to the notice of his coadjutor, as a gentleman whose principles, character, and talents eminently fitted him for supporting the new ministry. Mr Horner was accordingly brought into parliament for the borough of St Ives in 1806. By the dismissal of the Foxo-Grenville administration, Mr Horner was for a time deprived of his parliamentary seat; but the talents and integrity which he had exhibited while in office, pointed him out to the friends of liberal principles as an ally too important to be consigned to oblivion. Accordingly, on the retirement of viscount Mahon from the representation of Wendover, Mr Horner was immediately nominated for that place, and soon afterwards was appointed one of the commissioners for investigating the claims on the late Nabob of Arcot, whose debts had been guaranteed by the East India Company,—an office of considerable emolument but proportionate labour. This situation, however, he afterwards resigned, though receiving little or no emolument from professional business, which indeed he did not aim at acquiring. Once established, however, in parliament, Mr Horner continued gradually to ac-



quire the confidence of the house, and that hold upon public opinion, without which no member of the British senate can be an efficient statesman. His speeches were little remarkable for ornament, or in a high degree for what is generally called eloquence; but he brought to the examination of every subject the power of a clear and matured understanding; and as he made it a point never to address the house upon any subject of which he had not made himself fully master, he never failed to command attention and respect. The excellence of the speaker consisted in accurate reasoning, logical arrangement of the facts, and clear and forcible illustration.

On the 1st of February, 1810, Mr Horner entered upon that part of his parliamentary career in which he reaped his most brilliant reputation. The extraordinary depreciation of the paper-currency, and the unfavourable state of the exchanges for the last two years had attracted the attention of the best economists of the day, and engaged Messrs Mushet, Ricardo, and Huskisson, and many others, in the investigation of the general principles of circulation, and of the various results which are occasioned in different countries by the variations in their respective currencies. This was a subject upon which Mr Horner felt himself at full liberty to enter. He had early turned his attention to economical subjects, and had given the result of his inquiries to the public in various articles which he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, which had attracted very considerable notice from their first appearance. Accordingly, pursuant to notice, he moved for a variety of accounts and returns, and during the spring of that year, called the attention of the house at different times to the important subject of the circulating medium and bullion trade. At the same time that Mr Horner was establishing his reputation as an economist, he neglected not the other duties of a statesman. On the 10th of May, 1810, when Alderman Combe made a motion censuring the ministers for obstructing the address of the Livery of London to his majesty in person, we find Mr Horner supporting it in the following constitutional terms: "He considered it as a question of vital importance, respecting which ministers had attempted to defend themselves by drawing the veil from the infirmities of their sovereign. It was the right of the Livery of London, as it was of other subjects, to have access to his majesty's person in the worst times,—even in those of Charles II. these had not been refused. The most corrupt ministers indeed, had no idea it would ever be refused. How complete would have been their triumph if they had discovered the practice which of late had prevailed! The obstruction of petitions was a subversion of the fundamental law of the land." Towards the conclusion of the same session, the house marked its sense of Mr Horner's superior information by placing his name at the head of "the bullion committee." Mr Horner presided for some time as chairman of that committee during the examination of the evidence, and drew up the first part of the report; the second was penned by Mr Huskisson; and the third by Mr Henry Thornton. They reported "that there was an excess in the paper circulation, of which the most unequivocal symptoms were the high price of bullion,<sup>1</sup> and next to that the low state of the continental exchange;<sup>2</sup> that the cause of this excess was to be found in the suspension of cash-payments, there being no adequate provision against such an excess, except in the convertibility of paper into specie; and that the unfavourable state of the exchange originated in the same cause, and was farther increased by the anti-commercial measures of the enemy." They added "that they could see no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, except the repeal of the law suspending the

<sup>1</sup> Gold had attained a maximum of 15½ per cent. above the mint price.

<sup>2</sup> The exchanges on Hamburg and Amsterdam had been depressed towards the latter end of 1809, from 16 to 20 per cent. below par; while the exchange on Paris was still lower.

cash payments of the bank ; this, they thought, could not be safely done at an earlier period than two years from the time of their report ; but they recommended that early provision should be made by parliament for this purpose." This report excited much discussion both within and without the walls of the house. The press swarmed with pamphlets on the present state of the currency, and the remedies proposed ;—the journals teemed with dissertations on the same subject ;—the comparative merits of a metallic and a paper currency formed the topic of discussion in every company ;—ministers opposed the committee's proposition ;—and finally, Mr Vansittart, at the head of the anti-bullionists or *practical men*, as they called themselves, got a series of counter-resolutions passed after four nights' keen discussion, in which the speeches of Mr Horner and several other members extended to three hours' length.

Although defeated in their struggle, the appearance which Mr Horner made in it, was so highly respectable as to deepen the impression which his talents and knowledge had already made on the house ; and from this period he appears to have exercised very considerable influence with all parties. Indeed, the urbanity of his manners, and the moderation with which he pressed his own views, were such as secured for him the respect, at least, of those from whom he differed in opinion ; and while steadily and consistently supporting the party to which he belonged, he displayed a spirit of tolerance towards his opponents which totally subdued any thing like personal animosity on their part. His efforts were then often more successful than those of more gifted men, who, with greater talents, have nevertheless greater prejudice, frequently amounting to personal dislike, to struggle against. It has been supposed that had Mr Horner been in parliament after the death of Mr Ponsonby, he would have become the leader of the opposition. But for an honour so great as this, providence had not destined him. Constant application to business and the increasing weight and multiplicity of his engagements, at last overpowered a constitution which never was very strong. Indications of pulmonary consumption soon appeared, and immediate removal to a warmer climate was deemed necessary by his physicians. Crossing, therefore, to the continent, he passed through France and entered Italy ; but the seeds of mortal disease had begun to spring before he took farewell of his own country, and he expired at Pisa, on the 8th of February, 1817, in the 38th year of his age. His remains were interred in the Protestant burying-ground at Leghorn, which also contains the ashes of Smollett.

On the occasion of a new writ being moved for the borough of St Mawes, which Mr Horner had represented, the character of the deceased member was elegantly sketched by lord Morpeth, and eloquent and affecting tributes of respect paid to his memory by several of the most distinguished members of the house.

A contemporary, who was acquainted with Mr Horner, both at school and at the university, thus expresses his opinion of him : " The characteristics of Mr Horner's mind, if I apprehend them rightly, were clearness of perception, calmness of judgment, and patience of investigation : producing as their consequences, firmness of conduct and independence of principles. Carrying these qualities into public life, he evinced greater moderation and forbearance than are often found in the narrow and comparatively unambitious strifes of a less extended scene. He entered parliament at rather an early age, and soon became not only a useful and conspicuous man of business, but drew more respect to his personal character, and was regarded by both orders of the House of Commons with greater confidence and interest, than any young member had attracted, perhaps, since the early days of Mr Pitt. This will appear higher praise when it is added, with truth, that no man coming into that house under the patronage of a whig nobleman could have acted with greater liberality

towards extended ideas of popular right,—with more fairness and firmness to the persons of his opponents,—or with more apparent latitude of individual judgment, on some of the most trying occasions, in all those scenes that have occurred in our recent parliamentary history. As a public speaker, he was not remarkable for the popular graces and attractions. If eloquence consists in rousing the passions by strong metaphors,—in awakening the sympathies by studied allusions,—or in arresting attention by the sallies of a mind rich in peculiar associations, Mr Horner was not eloquent. But if eloquence be the art of persuading by accurate reasoning, and a right adjustment of all the parts of a discourse, by the powers of a tact which is rather intellectually right than practically fine, Mr Horner was eloquent. He spoke with the steady calmness of one who saw his way on principle, while he felt it simply and immediately, through sobriety of judgment and good conduct; and never seemed to be more excited by his subject, or more carried away in the vehemence of debate, than to make such exertions as left one uniform impression on the minds of his hearers that he spoke from an honest internal conviction and from a real desire to be useful. In private life, he was distinguished by an impressive graveness which would have appeared heavy, had it not been observed in permanent conjunction with an easy steadiness of conversation, and a simplicity of manners very far from any thing cold, affected, or inelegant. His sense of honour was high and decided. His taste for literature, like his taste for conduct, was correct. As his acts of friendship or of duty were done without effort or finesse, so did he enjoy with quietness and relish those tender and deeply felt domestic affections which can sweeten or even adorn almost any condition of life. He was not fitted to win popularity, but his habitual moderation,—his unaffected respect for every thing respectable that was opposed to him,—and the successful pains which he took to inform himself well on the grounds and nature of every business in which he bore a part, gained him an influence more valuable to a man of judgment, than popularity.”

Mr Horner sat to the celebrated Raeburn for his picture some years before his demise. The painter has produced a faithful likeness, but no engraving of it has yet been executed.

HORSLEY, JOHN, an eminent antiquary, historian, and divine, was born at Pinkie House in Mid-Lothian, in the year 1685. His parents were English non-conformists, who are supposed to have fled into Scotland on account of the persecution in the reign of Charles II. How it happened that they resided at Pinkie House, then the property of the earl of Dunfermline, as successor to the estates of the abbey of Dunfermline, is not known. It is clearly ascertained that his progenitors belonged to Northumberland, and were of no mean standing. His parents returned to Northumberland immediately after the Revolution, and it is understood that the subject of this notice received the initiatory part of his education at the Newcastle grammar school. He was thereafter sent to pursue his academical studies at Edinburgh; and it would appear, that at a very early age, as we find by the laureation book of the college, he was admitted master of arts in 1701, being then just sixteen years of age. After finishing his theological course, he returned to England, and preached for several years merely as a licentiate; but in 1721, he was ordained minister of a congregation of Protestant dissenters at Morpeth. His mind, however, was directed to other pursuits besides his profession, and his great attainments in geology, mathematics, and most of the other abstruse sciences, of which he gave unquestionable proofs, would probably have gained him a wider and more permanent fame in the present day, than at a time when their principles were in general little understood, and less attended to. In 1722, he invented a simple and ingenious mode of

determining the average quantity of rain which fell, by means of a funnel, the wider cylinder of which was thirty inches in diameter, and terminated in a pipe three inches in diameter, and ten in length; the latter being graduated in inches and tenths. Ten measures of the pipe being equal to one inch of the cylinder, one measure to one-tenth of an inch, one inch of the measure to one-hundred, and one-tenth to one-thousand part,—the depth of any particular quantity of rain which fell might be set down in decimals with ease and exactness; and the whole, at the end of each month or year, summed up without any trouble. Shortly after, and probably in consequence of this invention, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and commenced giving public lectures on hydrostatics, mechanics, and various branches of natural philosophy, at Morpeth, Alnwick, and Newcastle. His valuable apparatus for illustrating and explaining his lectures, after passing through various hands after his death, were, in 1821, deposited in the library belonging to the dissenters in Red Cross Street, London, being bequeathed to the public by Dr Daniel Williams. By manuscripts afterwards found among Mr Horsley's papers, it appears that about the year 1728, he conceived the idea of writing a history of Northumberland, and from the extensive design of the work which he had sketched out, embracing its antiquities, traditions, geological structure, &c., and his ability for the task, it is much to be regretted that he did not live to complete it. A map of the same county, commenced by him, was afterwards completed by Mr Mark, the surveyor employed by him, and published at Edinburgh in 1753. Mr Horsley also published a small book on experimental philosophy, in connexion with the course of lectures above noticed. His great work, however, by which his name will most probably be transmitted to posterity, and to which he dedicated the greater part of his short but busy career, is his "*Britannia Romana*," or the Roman affairs of Britain, in three books. This work is in folio, and consists of five hundred and twenty pages, with plates exhibiting maps of the Roman positions, copies of ancient coins, sculptures, inscriptions, &c. It is dedicated to Sir Richard Ellys, Bart., contains a lengthy preface, a chronological table of occurrences during the Roman domination, a copious index of the Roman names of people and places in Britain, &c. It was printed at London for John Osborne and Thomas Longman, &c., in 1732; but Mr Horsley lived not to see the fate of a work which had unceasingly engrossed his time, thoughts, and means for several years. His death took place at Morpeth, on the 15th January, 1732, exactly thirteen days after the date of his dedication to Sir Richard Ellys, and while yet in his 46th year. The enthusiastic ardour with which he devoted himself to this work, may be gleaned from the following passage in the preface:—"It is now four years since I was prevailed with to complete this work, for which time I have pursued it with the greatest care and application. Several thousand miles were travelled to visit ancient monuments, and re-examine them where there was any doubt or difficulty." He also went to London to superintend the progress of his work through the press, and engaged in an extensive correspondence on the subject with many of the most learned writers and antiquaries of the day. The "*Britannia*" is now a very rare work, and it would appear that the plates engraved for it are entirely lost. Mr Horsley was married early in life to a daughter of a professor Hamilton, who, according to Wood, in his *Ancient and Modern State of Cramond*, was at one time minister of that parish. By her he had two daughters, one of whom was married to a Mr Randall, clerk in the Old South Sea House, London; the other to Samuel Halliday, esq., an eminent surgeon at Newcastle. From a passage in his manuscript history of Northumberland, it would also appear that he had a son, but we find no other mention made of him, either in his own writings or elsewhere.

The greater part of Mr Horsley's various unfinished works, correspondence, and other manuscripts, fell after his death into the hands of the late John Cay, Esq. of Edinburgh, great-grandson of Mr Robert Cay, an eminent printer and publisher at Newcastle, to whose judgment in the compiling, correcting, and getting up of the *Britannia Romana*, Mr Horsley appears to have been much indebted. From these papers, as printed in a small biographical work by the Rev. John Hodgson, vicar of Whelpington in Northumberland, published at Newcastle in 1831, the most of the facts contained in this brief memoir were taken.

HUME, ALEXANDER, a vernacular poet of the reign of James VI., was the second son of Patrick Hume, fifth baron of Polwarth. Until revived by the tasteful researches of Dr Løyden, the works of this, one of the most elegant of our early poets, lay neglected, and his name was unknown except to the antiquary. He had the merit of superseding those "godlie and spiritual sangis and ballatis," which, however sacred they may have once been held, are pronounced by the present age to be ludicrous and blasphemous, for strains where piety and taste combine, and in which the feelings of those who wish to peruse writings on sacred subjects, are not outraged. The neglect which has long obscured the works of this poet, has impeded inquiries as to his life and character. He is supposed to have been born in the year 1560, or within a year or two prior to that date. Late investigators have found that he studied at St Andrews, and that he may be identified with an Alexander Hume, who took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at St Leonard's college of that university in the year 1574. The outline of his farther passage through life is expressed in his own words, in his epistle to Mr Gilbert Moncrieff, the king's physician. He there mentions, that, after spending four years in France, he was seized with a desire to become a lawyer in his own country, and he there draws a pathetic picture of the miseries of a briefless barrister, sufficient to extract tears from half the faculty.

"To that effect, three years or near that space,  
I haunted maist our highest pleading place  
And senate, where great causes reason'd war;  
My breast was bruist with leaning on the bar;  
My buttons brist, I partly spitted blood,  
My gown was trail'd and trampid quhair I stood;  
My ears were deif'd with maissars cryes and din  
Quhilk procuratoris and parties callit in."

Nor did the moral aspect of the spot convey a more soothing feeling than the physical. He found

"The puir abusit ane hundredth divers wayes;  
Postpon'd, deffer'd with shifts and mere delayes,  
Consumit in gudes, ourset with grief and paine."

From the corrupt atmosphere of the law, he turned towards the pure precincts of the court; but here he finds that

"From the rocks of Cyclades fra hand,  
I struck into Charybdis sinking sand."

He proceeds to say that, "for reverence of kings he will not slander courts," yet he has barely maintained his politeness to royal ears, in his somewhat vivid description of all that the calm poet experienced during his apprenticeship at court.

"In courts, Monterief, is pride, envie, contentien,  
Dissimulance, despite, disceat, dissentien,  
Fear, whisperings, reports, and new suspition,  
Fraud, treason, lies, dread, guile, and sedition;

Great greedines, and prodigalitie;  
Lusts sensual, and partialitie."

with a continued list of similar qualifications, whose applicability is likely to be perceived only by a disappointed courtier, or a statesman out of place. During the days of his following the bar and the court, it is supposed that Hume joined in one of those elegant poetical amusements called "Flytings," and that he is the person who, under the designation of "Polwart," answered in fitting style to the abuse of Montgomery. That Alexander Hume was the person who so officiated, is, however, matter of great doubt: Dempster, a contemporary, mentions that the person who answered Montgomery was *Patrick* Hume, a name which answers to that of the elder brother; and though Leyden and Sibbald justly pay little attention to such authority, knowing that Dempster is, in general, as likely to be wrong as to be right, every Scotsman knows that the patrimonial designation "Polwart," is more appropriately the title of the elder than of the younger brother; while Patrick Hume of Polwarth, a more fortunate courtier, and less seriously disposed than his brother, has left behind him no mean specimen of his genius, in a poem addressed to James VI., entitled "The Promise." Whichever of the brothers has assumed Polwart's share in the controversy, it is among the most curious specimens of the employments of the elegant minds of the age.

If the sacred poet, Alexander Hume, was really the person who so spent his youthful genius, as life advanced he turned his attention to more serious matters; that his youth was spent more unprofitably than his riper years approved, is displayed in some of his writings, in terms more bitter than those which are generally used by persons to whom expressions of repentance seem a becoming language. He entered into holy orders, and at some period was appointed minister of Logie, a pastoral charge of which he performed with vigour the humble duties, until his death in 1609.

Before entering on the works which he produced in his clerical retirement, it may be right to observe that much obscurity involves his literary career, from the circumstance that three other individuals of the same name, existing at the same period, passed lives extremely similar, both in their education, and in their subsequent progress. Three out of the four attended St Mary's college at St Andrews in company;—presuming that the subject of our memoir took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1574, one of his companions must have passed in 1571, the other in 1572. It is supposed that one of these was minister of Dunbar in 1582; the other is known to have been appointed master of the High school of Edinburgh in 1596, and to have been author of a few theological tracts, and of a Latin grammar, appointed by act of parliament, and by the privy Council, to be used in all grammar schools in the kingdom: this individual has been discovered by Dr M'Crie, to have afterwards successively officiated as rector of the grammar schools of Salt-Preston and of Dunbar. The fourth Alexander Hume, was a student at St Leonard's college, St Andrews, where he entered in 1578: he too was a poet, but the only existing specimen of his composition is the following simple tribute to the labours of Bellenden, inscribed on a blank leaf of the manuscript of the translation of Livy,

" Fyve buikes ar here by Ballantyne translated,  
Restis yet ane hundred threttie fyve behind;  
Quilkis if the samyn war als weill compleated,  
Wuld be ane volume of ane monstrous kind.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ingenious poet probably overlooks the fact of so many of Livy's books being lost, with the deliberate purpose of increasing the effect of his verses.

Ilk man perlytes not quhat they once intend,  
 So frail and brittle ar our wretched dayes;  
 Let sume man then begine quhair he doeth end,  
 Give him the first, tak thame the second praise:  
 No, no! to Titus Livius give all,  
 That peerles prince for feattis historicall."

*M. A. Home, St Leonardes.*

A small manuscript volume bearing the name of Alexander Hume, and entitled "Rerum Scoticarum Compendium," is probably from the pen of one of these four, but of which, it may now be impossible to determine.

Alexander Hume, minister of Logie, is, however, the undoubted author of "Hymnes or Sacred Songs, wherein the right use of poesie may be espied: whereunto are added, the experience of the author's youth, and certain precepts serving to the practice of sanctification." This volume, printed by Waldegrave in 1599, was dedicated to Elizabeth Melvill, by courtesy styled lady Culross, a woman of talent and literary habits, the authoress of "Ane godlie dream, compylit in Scottish meter," printed at Aberdeen in 1644. The Hymns and Sacred Songs have been several times partially reprinted, and the original having fallen into extreme rarity, the whole has lately been reprinted by the Bannatyne club. In the prose introduction, the author addressing the youth of Scotland, exhorts them to avoid "profane sonnets and vain ballads of love, the fabulous feats of Palmerine, and such like reveries."—"Some time," he adds, "I delighted in such fantasies myself, after the manner of riotous young men: and had not the Lord in his mercy pulled me aback, and wrought a great repentance in me, I had doubtless run forward and employed my time and study in that profane and unprofitable exercise, to my own perdition." The first of his hymns he styles his "Recantation:" it commences in the following soleinn terms:

Alace, how long have I delayed  
 To leave the laits<sup>2</sup> of youth!  
 Alace how oft have I essayed  
 To deunt my lascive mouth,  
 And make my wayne polluted thought,  
 My pen and speech prophaine,  
 Extoll the Lord quhilk made of nocnt  
 The heaven, the earth, and maine.

Skarce nature yet my face about,  
 Hir virile net had spun,  
 Quhen als oft as Phœbea stout  
 Was set agains the Sun:  
 Yea, als oft as the fierie flames  
 Arise and shine abroad,  
 I minded was with sangs and psalms  
 To glorifie my God.

But ay the canered carnall kind,  
 Quhilk lurked me within,  
 Seduced my heart, withdrew my mind,  
 And made me slave to sin.  
 My senses and my saull I saw  
 Debait a deadlie strife,  
 Into my flesh I felt a law  
 Gainstand the Law of life.

<sup>2</sup> Habits or manners.

Even as the falcon high, and hait  
 Furth fleeing in the skye,  
 With wanton wing hir game to gaif,  
 Disdaines her caller's cry ;  
 So led away with liberty,  
 And drowned in delight,  
 I wandred after vanitie—  
 My vice I give the wight.

But by far the most beautiful composition in the collection, is that entitled the "Day Estival," the one which Leyden has thought worthy of revival. This poem presents a description of the progress and effects of a summer day in Scotland, accompanied by the reflections of a mind full of natural piety, and a delicate perception of the beauties of the physical world. The easy flow of the numbers, distinguishing it from the harsher productions of the same age, and the arrangement of the terms and ideas, prove an acquaintance with English poetry ; but the subject and the poetical thoughts are entirely the author's own. They speak strongly of the elegant and fastidious mind, tired of the bar, and disgusted with the court, finding a balm to the wounded spirit, in being alone with nature, and watching her progress. The style has an unrestrained freedom which may please the present age, and the contemplative feeling thrown over the whole, mingled with the artless vividness of the descriptions, bringing the objects immediately before the eye, belong to a species of poetry at which some of the highest minds have lately made it their study to aim. We shall quote the commencing stanza, and a few others scattered in different parts of the Poem :

O perfect light ! which shed away  
 The darkness from the light,  
 And left one ruler o'er the day,  
 Another o'er the night.

Thy glory, when the day forth lies,  
 More vively dees appear  
 Nor at mid-day unto our eyes  
 The shining sun is clear.

The shadow of the earth anene  
 Removes and drawis by ;  
 Syne in the east, when it is gone,  
 Appears a clearer sky :  
 Which soon perceives the little larks,  
 The lapwing, and the snipe ;  
 And tunes their songs, like nature's clerks,  
 Our meadow, moor, and stripe.

• • • •

The time so tranquil is and still,  
 That no where shall ye find,  
 Save on a high and barren hill,  
 An air of passing wind.  
 All trees and simples, great and small,  
 That balmy leaf do bear,  
 Nor they were painted on a wall  
 No more they move or stir.  
 Calm is the deep and purpour sea,  
 Yea smother nor the sand :



The wallis that weltering wont to be  
Are stable like the land.

\* \* \* \*

What pleasure 'twere to walk and see,  
Endlong a river clear,  
The perfect form of every tree  
Within the deep appear ;  
The salmon out of crooves and creels  
Up hauled into skouts,  
The bells and circles on the wells  
Through louping of the trouts.  
O then it were a seemly thing,  
While all is still and calme,  
The praise of God to play and sing  
With cornet and with shalme.

Rowe, in his manuscript History of the Church of Scotland, has told us that Hume "was one of those godlie and faithful servants, who had witnessed against the hierarchy of prelates in this kirk." He proceeds to remark, "as to Mr Alexander Hoome, minister at Logie beside Stirling, I next mention him: he has left ane admonition behind him in write to the kirk of Scotland, wherein he affirms that the bishops, who were then fast rising up, had left the sincere ministers, who wold gladlie have keeped still the good old government of the kirk, if these corrupt ministers had not left them and it; earnestlie entreating the bishops to leave and forsake that course wherin they were, els their defection from their honest brethren, (with whom they had taken the covenant,) and from the cause of God, would be registrate afterwards to their eternale shame." The person who has reprinted Hume's Hymns and Sacred Songs for the Bannatyne club, has discovered among the elaborate collections of Wodrow, in the Advocate's Library, a small tract entitled, "Ane afold Admonition to the Ministerie of Scotland, be ane deing brother," which he, not without reason, presumes to be that mentioned by Rowe; founding the supposition on the similarity of the title, the applicability of the matter, and a minute circumstance of internal evidence, which shows that the admonition was written very soon after the year 1607, and very probably at such a period as might have enabled Hume (who died in 1609) to have denominated himself "ane deing brother." The whole of this curious production is conceived in a style of assumption, which cannot have been very acceptable to the spiritual pride of the Scottish clergy. It commences in the following terms of apostolical reprimand:—"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. It is certainlie knawin, bretheren, to the greiff of monie godlie heartes and slander of the Gospell, that thair ar dissentionis among you: not concerning the covenant of God, or the seales of the covenant, but chiefflie concerning twa poyntis of discipline or kirk government, wharanent you are divydit in twa factionis or opinionis." From this assumed superiority, the admonitionist stalks forth, bearing himself in lofty terms, never condescending to argue, but directing like a superior spirit; and under the Christian term of humility, "bretheren," concealing an assumption of spiritual superiority, which the word "sons" would hardly have sufficiently expressed.

HUME, DAVID, of Godscröft. The scantiness of the materials for lives of literary Scotsmen has, with us, often been a subject of remark and regret; and we are sure that every one who has had occasion to make investigations into this department of our national history will at once acquiesce in its truth. Our statesmen have been applauded or condemned—at all events they have been immortalized—by contemporary writers; the deeds of our soldiers have been celebrated

in works relative to our martial achievements; and our divines have always, and more especially in the darker ages, preserved a knowledge of themselves and their transactions,—but literary men are nearly forgotten, and for what is known of them we are principally indebted to the labours of continental biographers. It would be difficult to point out a more striking illustration of this than the well known individual whose name appears at the head of this article. His name is familiar to every one who is in the least degree conversant with Scottish history or poetry;—he was descended from an honorable family—he acted a prominent part in some of the earlier transactions of his own time, and still almost nothing is known of his history. The indefatigable Wodrow has preserved many scattered hints regarding him in his Biographical Collections in the library of Glasgow college, and except this we are not aware of any attempt at a lengthened biographical sketch of him. In drawing up the following, we shall take many of our facts from that biography, referring also to the excellent works of Dr M'Crie, and occasionally supplying deficiencies from the few incidental notices of himself in Hume's works.

David Hume, it is probable, was born about, or a few years prior to, the period of the Reformation. His father was Sir David Hume, or Home, of Wedderburn, the representative of an old and distinguished family in the south of Scotland. His mother was Mary Johnston, a daughter of Johnston of Elphinstone. This lady died early, and her husband, after having married a second wife, who seems to have treated his family in a harsh and ungenerous manner, died of consumption while the subject of this memoir was a very young man. The family thus left consisted of four sons—George, David, James, and John; and four daughters—Isabell, Margaret, Julian, and Joan.

Of the early education of David Hume, we have not been able to learn almost any thing. His elder brother and he were sent to the public school of Dunbar, then conducted by Mr Andrew Simson, and there is abundant evidence that he made very considerable progress in the acquisition of classical knowledge. He has left a poem, entitled *Daphn-Amaryllis*, written at the age of fourteen, and he incidentally mentions the expectations George Buchanan formed of his future eminence from his early productions. After receiving, it may be conjectured, the best education that a Scottish university then afforded, Hume set out for France, accompanied by his relation, John Haldane of Gleneagles. His intention was to have also made the tour of Italy, and for that purpose he had gone to Geneva, when his brother's health became so bad as to make his return desirable. On receiving the letters containing this information, he returned to Scotland without delay, "and arrived," to use his own words in his *History of the Family of Wedderburn*, "much about the time that Esme, lord Aubigny, (who was afterwards made duke of Lennox,) was brought into Scotland—and that Morton began to decline in his credit, he being soon after first imprisoned, and then put to death;" that is about the beginning of 1581.

Sir George Home seems to have recovered his health soon afterwards, and David was generally left at his castle to manage his affairs, while he was engaged in transactions of a more difficult or hazardous nature. This probably did not continue long, for the earliest public transaction in which we have found him engaged took place in 1583. When king James VI. withdrew from the party commonly known by the name of the Ruthven lords, and re-admitted the earl of Arran to his councils, Archibald, "the good earl" of Angus, a relation of Hume's family, was ordered to confine himself to the north of Scotland, and accordingly resided for some time at the castle of Brechin, the property of his brother-in-law the earl of Mar. At this period Hume seems to have lived in Angus's house, in the capacity of a "familiar servitour," or confidential secretary.

When the Ruthven party were driven into England, Hume accompanied his master and relation; and while the lords remained inactive at Newcastle, requested leave to go to London, where he intended pursuing his studies. To this Angus consented, with the ultimate intention of employing him as his agent at the English court. During the whole period of his residence at the English capital, he maintained a regular correspondence with the earl, but only two of his letters (which he has printed in the History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus) have come down to us.

The Ruthven lords returned to Scotland in 1585, but soon offended the clergy by their want of zeal in providing for the security of the church. Their wrath was still farther kindled, by a sermon preached at this time before the king at Linlithgow, by John Craig, in which the offensive doctrine of obedience to princes was enforced. A letter was accordingly prepared, insisting upon the claims of the church, and transmitted to Mr Hume, to be presented to Angus. A very long conference took place betwixt the earl and Hume, which he has set down at great length in the above-mentioned work. He begins his own discourse by refuting the arguments of Craig, and shows, that although it is said in his text, "I said ye are gods," it is also said, "Nevertheless ye shall die;" "which two," Hume continues, "being put together, the one shows princes their duty—*Do justice as God doth*; the other threateneth punishment—*Ye shall die if you do it not*." He then proceeds to show, that the opinions of Bodinus in his work *De Republica*, and of his own countryman Blackwood [see Blackwood], are absurd; and having established the doctrine that tyrants may be resisted, he applies it to the case of the Ruthven lords, and justifies the conduct of Angus as one of that party. He then concludes in the following strain of remonstrance:—"Your declaration which ye published speaks much of the public cause and common weal, but you may perceive what men think your actions since they do not answer thereto by this letter, for they are begun to think that howsoever you pretend to the public, yet your intention was fixed only on your own particular, because you have done nothing for the church or country, and have settled your own particular. And it is observed, that of all the parliaments that were ever held in this country, this last, held since you came home, is it in which alone there is no mention of the church, either in the beginning thereof, (as in all others there is,) or elsewhere throughout. This neglect of the state of the church and country, as it is a blemish of your fact obscuring the lustre of it, so is it accounted an error in policy by so doing, to separate your particular from the common cause of the church and country, which, as it hath been the mean of your particular restitution, so is it the only mean to maintain you in this estate, and to make it sure and firm."

During the subsequent short period of this earl's life, Hume seems to have retained his confidence, and to have acted the part of a faithful and judicious adviser. After Angus's death, which took place in 1588, it is probable that he lived in retirement. Accordingly, we do not find any further notice of him till he appeared as an author in 1605.

One of king James's most favourite projects was the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and soon after his accession to the English throne, commissioners were appointed to consider the grounds upon which this object could be safely and advantageously attained. It would altogether exceed our limits were we to give even a faint outline of the proceedings of these commissioners, and it is the less necessary as their deliberations did not lead to the desired result. The subject, however, met with the attention of the most learned of our countrymen. The first work written on this subject was from the pen of Robert Pont, one of the most respectable clergymen of his day, and a senator of the col-

lege of justice, while ecclesiastics were permitted to hold that office. His work, which was published in 1604, is in the form of a dialogue between three imaginary personages—Irenæus, Polyhistor, and Hospes, and is now chiefly interesting as containing some striking remarks on the state of the country, and the obstacles to the administration of justice. Pont was followed by David Hume, our author, who published next year his treatise, *De Unione Insulæ Britannicæ*, of which bishop Nicholson only says that “it is written in a clear Latin style, such as the author was eminent for, and is dedicated to the king: it shows how great an advantage such a union would bring to the island in general, and in particular to the several nations and people of England and Scotland, and answers the objections against the change of the two names into that of Britain—the alteration of the regal style in writs and processes of law—the removal of the parliament and other courts into England,” &c. The first part only of this work of Hume’s was published. Bishop Nicholson mentions that a MS. of the second part was in Sir Robert Sibbald’s collection, and Wodrow also possessed what he considered a very valuable copy of it. It would be improper to pass from this part of our subject, without referring to Sir Thomas Craig’s work on the same subject, which still remains unprinted; although in the opinion of his accomplished biographer, Mr Tytler, “in point of matter and style, in the importance of the subject to which it relates, the variety of historical illustrations, the sagacity of the political remarks, and the insight into the mutual interests of the two countries which it exhibits, it deserves to rank the highest of all his works.”

In the year 1608, Hume commenced a correspondence on the subject of episcopacy and presbytery with James Law, then bishop of Orkney, and afterwards promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow. This epistolary warfare took its rise in a private conversation between Mr Hume and the bishop, when he came to visit the presbytery of Jedburgh in that year. The subject presented by much too large a field to be exhausted at a private meeting, and accordingly supplied materials for their communications for about three years. But here again we are left to lament that so little of it has been preserved. Calderwood has collected a few of the letters, but the gaps are so frequent, and consequently so little connexion is kept up, that they would be entirely uninteresting to a general reader. In 1613, Hume began a correspondence of the same nature with bishop Cowper on his accepting the diocese of Galloway. The bishop set forth an apology for himself, and to this Hume wrote a reply, which, however, was not printed, as it was unfavourable to the views of the court. Cowper answered his statements in his *Dicaiology*, but printed only such parts of Hume’s argument as could be most easily refuted. To this Hume once more replied at great length.

Shortly before this period he undertook the “History of the House of Wedderburn, (written) by a son of the family, in the year 1611,”—a work which has hitherto remained in manuscript. “It has sometimes grieved me,” he remarks, in a dedication to the earl of Home, and to his own brother, “when I have been glancing over the histories of our country, to have mention made so seldom of our ancestors,—scarce above once or twice,—and that too very shortly and superficially; whereas they were always remarkable for bravery, magnanimity, clemency, liberality, munificence, hospitality, fidelity, piety in religion, and obedience to their prince; and, indeed, there never was a family who had a greater love and regard for their country, or more earnestly devoted themselves to, or more frequently risked their lives for, its service. It ought, in a more particular manner, to grieve you that they have been so long buried in oblivion, and do you take care that they be so no more. I give you, as it were, the prelude, or lay the ground-work of the history; perhaps a pen more equal to the task, or at least, who can do it with more decency, will give it the finishing stroke.”

He does not enter into a minute inquiry into the origin of the family, a species of antiquarianism of which it must be confessed our Scottish historians are sufficiently fond:—"My intention," he says, "does not extend farther than to write those things that are peculiar to the House of Wedderburn." The work begins with "David, first laird of Wedderburn," who appears to have lived about the end of the fourteenth century, and concludes with an account of the earlier part of his brother's life.

During the latter period of his life, Hume appears to have devoted himself almost entirely to literary pursuits. He had appeared before the world as a poet in his "*Lusus Poetici*," published in 1605, and afterwards incorporated into the excellent collection entitled "*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*," edited by Dr Arthur Johnston. He seems to have added to his poetical works when years and habits of study might be supposed to have cooled his imaginative powers. When prince Henry died, he gave vent to his grief in a poem entitled "*Henrici Principis Justa*," which, Wodrow conjectures, was probably sent to Sir James Semple of Beltrees, then a favourite at court, and by whom it is not improbable that it was shown to his majesty. A few years afterwards (1617) he wrote his "*Regi Suo Graticulatio*,"—a congratulatory poem on the king's revisiting his native country. In the same year he prepared (but did not publish) a prose work under the following title, "*Cambdenia; idest, Examen nonnullorum a Gulielmo Cambdeno in 'Britannia' sua positorum, præcipue quæ ad irrisionem Scoticæ gentis, et eorum et Pictorum falsam originem.*" "In a very short preface to his readers," says Wodrow, "Mr Hume observes that nothing more useful to this island was ever proposed, than the union of the two islands, and scarce ever any proposal was more opposed; witness the insults in the House of Commons, and Paget's fury, rather than speech, against it, for which he was very justly fined. After some other things to the same purpose, he adds, that Mr Cambden hath now in his *Britannia* appeared on the same side, and is at no small labour to extol to the skies England and his Britons, and to depress and expose Scotland,—how unjustly he does so is Mr Hume's design in this work." Cambden's assertions were also noticed by William Drummond in his *Nuntius Scoto-Britannus*, and in another of his works more professedly levelled against him, entitled "*A Pair of Spectacles for Cambden.*"

The last work in which we are aware of Hume's having been engaged, is his largest, and that by which he is best known. The *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus*, seems to have been first printed at Edinburgh, by Evan Tyler, in 1644, but this edition has several discrepancies in the title-page. Some copies bear the date 1648, "to be sold by T. W. in London," and others have a title altogether different, "*A Generall History of Scotland, together with a particular history of the houses of Douglas and Angus*," but are without date. After mentioning in the preface that, in writing such a work it is impossible to please all parties,—that some may say that it is an unnecessary work—others, that it is merely a party-statement,—and a third complain of "the style, the phrase, the periods, the diction, and the language," Hume goes on to say, "in all these particulars, to satisfy all men is more than we can hope for; yet thus much shortly of each of them to such as will give ear to reason: that I write, and of this subject, I am constrained to do it, not by any violence or compulsion, but by the force of duty, as I take it; for being desired to do it by those I would not refuse, I thought myself bound to honour that name, and in it and by it, our king and country. . . . Touching partiality, I deny it not, but am content to acknowledge my interest. Neither do I think that ever any man did set pen to paper without some particular relation of kindred, country, or such like. The Romans in writing the *Romane*, the Grecians in writing their Greek histories;

friends writing to, of, or for friends, may be thought partiall, as countrey-men and friends. The vertuous may be deemed to be partiall towards the vertuous, and the godly towards the godly and religious: all writers have some such respect, which is a kind of partiality. I do not refuse to be thought to have some, or all of these respects, and I hope none wil think I do amisse in having them. Pleasing of men, I am so farre from shunning of it, that it is my chief end and scope: but let it please them to be pleased with vertue, otherwise they shal find nothing here to please them. If thou findest any thing here besides, blame me boldly; and why should any be displeased that wil be pleased with it? would to God I could so please the world, I should never displease any. But if either of these (partiality or desire to please) carry me besides the truth, then shal I confesse my self guilty, and esteem these as great faults, as it is faultie and blame-worthy to forsake the truth. But, otherwise, so the truth be stuck unto, there is no hurt in partiality and labouring to please. And as for truth, clip not, nor champ not my words (as some have done elsewhere), and I beleeeve the worst affected will not charge mee with lying. I have ever sought the truth in all things carefully, and even here also, and that painfully in every point: where I find it assured, I have set it down confidently; where I thought there was some reason to doubt, I tell my authour: so that if I deceive, it is my self I deceive, and not thee; for I hide nothing from thee that I myself know, and as I know it, leaving place to thee, if thou knowest more or better, which, if thou doest, impart and communicate it; for so thou shouldest do, and so is truth brought to light, which else would lyo hid and buried. My paines and travel in it have been greater than every one would think, in correcting my errors; thine will not bee so much, and both of us may furnish matter for a third man to finde out the truth more exactly, than either of us hath yet done. Help, therefore, but carp not . . . . . For the language, it is my mother-tongue, that is, Scottish: and why not, to Scottish men? why should I contemne it? I never thought the difference so great, as that by seeking to speak English, I would hazard the imputation of affectation. Every tongue hath its own vertue and grace. Some are more substantiall, others more ornate and succinct. They have also their own defects and faultinesses, some are harsh, some are effeminate, some are rude, some affectate and swelling. The Romanes spake from their heart, the Grecians with their lips only, and their ordinary speech was complements; especially the Asiatick Greeks did use a loose and blown kind of phrase. And who is there that keeps that golden mean? For my own part, I like our own, and he that writes well in it, writes well enough to me. Yet I have yeelded somewhat to the tyrannie of custome and the times, not seeking curiously for words, but taking them as they come to hand. I acknowledge also my fault (if it be a fault), that I ever accounted it a mean study, and of no great commendation to learn to write, or to speak English, and have loved better to bestow my pains and time on forreign languages, esteeming it but a dialect of our own, and that, (perhaps) more corrupt." The work commences with a preface concerning "the Douglasses in general, that is, their antiquity, to which is joined their original, nobility and descent, greatness and valour of the family of the name of Douglas." The history begins with Sholto Douglas, the first that bore the name, and the vanquisher of Donald Bane, in the reign of king Salvathius,—and concludes with the death of Archibald, ninth earl of Angus, who has been already noticed in the course of this memoir. With this work closes every trace of David Hume. It is supposed to have been written about 1625, or between that period and 1630, and it is not probable that he survived that period long. Supposing him to have been born about 1560, he must then have attained to the age of three score years and ten.

Respecting Hume's merits as a poet, different opinions exist. While in the opinion of Dr Irving he never rises above mediocrity, Dr M'Crie places him in a somewhat higher rank: "The easy structure of his verse reminds us continually of the ancient models on which it has been formed; and if deficient in vigour his fancy has a liveliness and buoyancy which prevents the reader from wearying of his longest descriptions." These opinions are, after all, not irreconcilable; the poetry of Hume possesses little originality, but the reader is charmed with the readiness and the frequency of his imitations of the Roman poets.

As an historian, Hume can never become popular. He is by much too prolix,—nor will this be wondered at when we consider the age at which he wrote his principal historical work. To the reader, however, who is disposed to follow him through his windings, he will be a most valuable, and in many cases, a most amusing author. As the kinsman of the earls of Angus, he had access to many important family papers, from which he has compiled the history prior to his own time. But when he writes of transactions within his own recollection, and more especially those in which he was personally engaged, there is so much judicious remark and honesty of intention, that it cannot fail to interest even a careless reader.

Besides the works which we have mentioned, Hume wrote "*Apologia Basiliica, Seu Machiavelli Ingenium Examinatum, in libro quem inscripsit Princeps, 4to, Paris, 1626.*" "*De Episcopatu, May 1, 1609, Patricio Simsono.*" "*A treatise on things indifferent.*" "*Of obedience to superiors.*" In the *Biographie Universelle* there is a memoir of him, in which it is mentioned that "*Jaques I<sup>er</sup>. l'employé a concilier les différends qui s'étaient élevés entre Dumoulin et Tilenus au sujet de la justification,*" and he is also there mentioned as having written "*Le Contr' Assassin, ou Réponse a l'Apologie des Jesuites,*" Geneva, 1612, 8vo, and "*L'Assassinat du Roi, ou Maximes Pratiquées en la personne du défunt Henrie le Grand,*" 1617, 8vo.

HUME, DAVID, the celebrated metaphysician, historian, and political economist, was the second son of Joseph Hume of Ninewells, near Dunso in the county of Berwick, and was born at Edinburgh on the 26th of April, 1711, O. S. His mother was daughter to Sir David Falconer, a judge of the court of session under the designation of lord Newton, and for some years president of the college of justice. The family of Hume of Ninewells was ancient and respectable, and the great philosopher has himself informed us, that on the side both of father and mother, he was the descendant of nobility, a circumstance from which he seems to have derived a quiet satisfaction, probably owing more to his respect for the manners and feelings of the country and age in which he lived, than to his conviction of the advantages of noble birth. It is to be regretted that little is known about the early life of Hume, and the habits of his boyish years. There are indeed very few instances, in which the information which can be derived about the early habits and inclinations of a man who has afterwards distinguished himself, repays the labour of research, or even that of reading the statements brought forward; while many who have busied themselves in such tasks have only shown that the objects of their attention were by no means distinguished from other men, in the manner in which they have spent their childhood; but it must be allowed that in the case of Hume, a narrative of the gradual rise and development of that stoical contempt towards the objects which distract the minds of most men, that industry without enthusiasm, that independence without assumption, and strict morality founded only on reason, which distinguished his conduct through life, might have taught us a lesson of the world, and would at least have gratified a well grounded

curiosity. The absence of such information allows us, however, to make a general inference, that no part of the conduct of the schoolboy was sufficiently remarkable to be commemorated by his friends, and that, as he was in advanced life (independent of the celebrity produced by his works) a man of unobservable and unassuming conduct; he was as a boy docile, well behaved, and attentive, without being remarkable either for precocity of talent, or that carelessness and insubordination which some biographers have taken pains to bring home to the subjects of their memoirs. In early infancy Hume was deprived of his father, and left to the guidance of his mother and an elder brother and sister; with the brother who succeeded by birthright to the family property, he ever lived on terms of fraternal intimacy and affection, and towards his two female relatives he displayed, through all the stages of his life, an unvarying kindness and unremitting attention, which have gone far, along with his other social virtues, in causing him to be respected as a man, by those who were his most bitter opponents as a philosopher.

The property of the respectable family of Ninewells was not large, and the limited share which fell to the younger brother precluded the idea of his supporting himself without labour. Having finished the course of study which such an institution was capable of providing, he attended for some time the university of Edinburgh, then rising in reputation; of his progress in study he gives us the following account: "I passed through the ordinary course of education with success, and was seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life, and the great source of my enjoyments; my studious disposition, my sobriety, and my industry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profession for me: but I found an insurmountable aversion to every thing but the pursuits of philosophy and general learning; and while they fancied I was poring upon Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the authors I was secretly devouring."<sup>1</sup> Of this aversion not only to the *practice*, but to the abstract *study* of the law, in a mind constituted like that of Hume, guided by reason, acute in the perception of differences and connexions, naturally prone to industry, and given up to the indulgence neither of passion nor sentiment, it is difficult to account. We are ignorant of the method by

<sup>1</sup> It is almost unnecessary to mention, that when we use the words of Hume about himself, we quote from that curious little memoir called "My Own Life," written by Hume on his death-bed, and published in 1777, by Mr Strahan, (to whom the manuscript was consigned) previously to its publication in the ensuing edition of the History of England. In a work which ought to contain a quantity of original matter proportioned to the importance of the subjects treated, some apology or explanation may be due, for quoting from a production which has been brought so frequently before the public; but in the life of a person so well known, and into whose conduct there has been so much investigation, while we try to bring together as much original matter as it is possible to obtain, we must frequently be contented with statements modeled according to our own views, and in our own language, of facts which have already been frequently recorded. Independent of this necessity, the memoir of the author written by himself, is so characteristic of his mind and feelings, both in the method of the narrative, and in the circumstances detailed, that any life of Hume which might neglect reference to it, must lose a very striking chain of connexion betwixt the mind of the author and the character of his works. Let us here remark, that while (in the words of Hume himself) "it is difficult for a man to speak long of himself without vanity." This little memoir seems to have defied criticism to discover anything injudicious or assuming, either in the details or reflections. It is true, he has been slightly accused of speaking with too much complacency of his own good qualities: but he it remarked, those qualities of disposition to study, sobriety, and industry, are such as a man of genius is seldom disposed to arrogate to himself, at least without some hints of the existence of others more brilliant and distinguishing. We cannot help being of opinion, that the author's philosophical command over his feelings has prompted him to avoid the extremes which the natural egotism and vanity of most men would have caused them to fall into on similar occasions, of either alluding to very high qualities which the suffrages of others had allowed that they possessed, or gaining credit for humility, by not recognizing the existence of qualities which they know their partial friends would be ready to admit.



which he pursued his legal studies, and this early acquired disgust would at least hint, that like his friend lord Kames, he commenced his career with the repulsive drudgery of a writer's office, in which his natural taste for retirement and reflection was invaded by a vulgar routine of commercial business and petty squabbling, and his acuteness and good taste offended by the tiresome formalities with which it was necessary he should occupy much valuable time, previously to exercising his ingenuity in the higher walks of the profession. But to those who are acquainted with the philosophical, and more especially with the constitutional writings of Mr Hume, the contemptuous rejection of the works of the civilians, and the exorbitant preference for the Roman poets, will appear at least a singular confession. To him any poet offered a mere subject of criticism, to be tried by the standard of taste, and not to gratify his sentiment; while in the works of the civilians he would have found (and certainly did find) the acute philosophical disquisitions of minds which were kindred to his own, both in profundity and elegance, and in the clear and accurate Vinnius, whom he has sentenced with such unbrotherly contempt, he must have found much which as a philosopher he respected, whatever distaste arbitrary circumstances might have given him towards the subject which that great man treated.

In 1734, the persuasions of his friends induced Mr Hume to attempt the bettering of his income by entering into business, and he established himself in the office of a respectable merchant in Bristol; but the man who had rejected the study of the law, was not likely to be fascinated by the bustle of commerce, and probably in opposition to the best hopes and wishes of his friends, in a few months he relinquished his situation, and spent some years in literary retirement in France, living first at Rheims, and afterwards at La Fleche in Anjeau. "I there," he says, "laid that plan of life which I have steadily and successfully pursued. I resolved to make a very rigid frugality supply my deficiency of fortune, to maintain unimpaired my independency, and to regard every object as contemptible, except the improvement of my talents in literature;" and with the consistency of a calm and firm mind, he kept his resolution. For some time previous to this period, Hume must have been gradually collecting that vast mass of observation and reflection which he employed himself during his retirement in digesting into the celebrated Treatise on Human Nature. In 1737, he had finished the first two volumes of this work, and he then returned to London to superintend their publication. From this date commenced the earliest traces of that literary and social correspondence which furnishes many of the most characteristic commentaries on the mental habits of the philosopher. With Henry Home, afterwards lord Kames, a near neighbour of the family of Ninewells, and probably a connexion of the philosopher (for *he* was the first member of the family who adopted the name of *Hume*, in preference to the family name *Home*), he contracted an early friendship, and a similarity of pursuits continued the intercourse. To that gentleman we find the subject of our memoir writing in the following terms, in December, 1737: "I have been here near three months, always within a week of agreeing with my printers: and you may imagine I did not forget the work itself during that time, when I began to feel some passages weaker for the style and diction than I could have wished. The nearness and greatness of the event roused up my attention, and made me more difficult to please than when I was alone in perfect tranquillity in France." The remaining portion of this communication, though given in the usual placid and playful manner of the author, tells a painful tale of the difficulties he had to encounter, and of hope deferred. "But here," he says, "I must tell you one of my foibles. I have a great inclination to go down to Scotland this spring to see my friends, and have your advice concerning my

*philosophical discoveries*: but cannot overcome a certain shame-facedness I have to appear among you at my years without having got a settlement, or so much as attempted any. How happens it, that we philosophers cannot as heartily despise the world as it despises us? I think in my conscience the contempt were as well founded on our side as on the other." With this letter Mr Hume transmitted to his friend a manuscript of his *Essay on Miracles*, a work which he at that period declined publishing along with his other productions, looking on it as more likely to give offence, from the greater reference of its reasonings to revealed religion.

Towards the termination of the year 1738, Hume published his "*Treatise of Human Nature*; being an attempt to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects." The fundamental principles on which the whole philosophy of this work is reared, discover themselves on reading the first page, in the division of all perceptions—in other words, of all the materials of knowledge which come within the comprehension of the human mind,—into impressions and ideas. Differing from almost all men who, using other terms, had discussed the same subject, he considered these two methods of acquiring knowledge, to differ, not in quality, but merely in degree; because by an observation of the qualities of the mind, on the principle of granting nothing which could not be demonstrated, he could find no real ground of distinction, excepting that the one set of perceptions was always of a more vivid description than the other. The existence of *impressions* he looked on as prior in the mind to the existence of *ideas*, the latter being merely dependent on, or reflected from the former, which were the first inlets of all knowledge. Among *perceptions* he considered the various methods by which the senses make the mind acquainted with the external world, and along with these, by a classification which might have admitted a better arrangement, he ranked the *passions*, which he had afterwards to divide into those which were the direct consequents of the operations of the senses, as *pain* and *pleasure*, and those which the repetition of impressions, or some other means, had converted into concomitants, or qualifications of the mind, as *hatred*, *joy*, *pride*, &c. By *ideas*, Mr Hume understood those arrangements of the perceptions formed in the mind by *reasonings* or *imagination*; and although he has maintained the distinction between these and the *impressions* of the senses to be merely in degree, all that has been either blamed or praised in his philosophy is founded on the use he makes of this distinction. He has been accused, and not without justice, of confusion in his general arrangement, and disconnexion in the subjects he has discussed as allied to each other; but a careful peruser of his works will find the division of subject we have just attempted to explain, to pervade the whole of his extraordinary investigations, and never to be departed from, where language allows him to adhere to it. The *ideas*, or more faint *perceptions*, are made by the author to be completely dependent on the *impressions*, showing that there can be no given *idea* at any time in the mind, to which there has not been a corresponding *impression* conveyed through the organs of sense. These ideas once existing in the mind, are subjected to the operation of the memory, and form the substance of our thoughts, and a portion of the motives of our actions. Thus, at any given moment, there are in the mind two distinct sources of knowledge, (or of what is generally called knowledge,)—the impressions which the mind is receiving from surrounding objects through the senses, and the thoughts, which pass through the mind, modified and arranged from such impressions, previously experienced and stored up. Locke, in his arguments against the existence of innate ideas, and Dr Berkeley, when he tried to show that the mind could contain no abstract ideas, (or ideas

not connected with anything which the mind had experienced,) had formed the outline of a similar division of knowledge; but neither of them founded on such a distinction, a system of philosophy, nor were they, it may be well conceived, aware of the extent to which the principles they suggested might be logically carried. The division we have endeavoured to define, is the foundation of the sceptical philosophy. The knowledge immediately derived from *impressions* is that which truly admits the term "knowledge" to be strictly applied to it; that which is founded on *experience*, derived from *previous expressions*, is something which always admits of doubt. While the former are always certain, the mind being unable to conceive their uncertainty, the latter may not only be conceived to be false, but are so much the mere subjects of probability, that there are distinctions in the force which the mind attributes to them—sometimes admitting them to be doubtful, and making no more distinction, except in the greater amount of probabilities betwixt that which it pronounces doubtful, and that which it pronounces certain. As an instance—when a man looks upon another man, and hears him speak, he receives through the senses of hearing and sight, certain impressions, the existence of which he cannot doubt; on that man, however, being no longer the object of his senses, the impressions are arranged in his mind in a reflex form, constituting what Mr Hume has called ideas; and although he may at first be convinced in a manner sufficiently strong for all practical purposes, that he has actually seen and heard such a man, the knowledge he has is only a mass of probabilities, which not only admit him to conceive it a possibility that he may *not* have met such a man, but actually decay by degrees, so as probably after a considerable period to lapse into uncertainty, while no better line of distinction can be drawn betwixt the certainty and the uncertainty, than that the one is produced by a greater mass of probabilities than the other. The author would have been inconsistent, had he admitted the reception of knowledge of an external world, even through the medium of the senses: he maintained all that the mind had really cognizance of, to be the *perceptions* themselves; there was no method of ascertaining with certainty what caused them. The human mind, then, is thus discovered to be nothing but a series of perceptions, of which some sets have such a resemblance to each other, that we always naturally arrange them together in our thoughts. Our consciousness of the identity of any given individual, is merely a series of perceptions so similar, that the mind glides along them without observation. A man's consciousness of his own identity, is a similar series of impressions. "The mind," says the author, "is a kind of theatre, where several perceptions successively make their appearance—pass, repass, glide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations. There is properly no *simplicity* in it at one time, nor *identity* in different, whatever natural propensity we may have to imagine that simplicity and identity. The comparison of the theatre must not mislead us. They are the successive perceptions only that constitute the mind; nor have we the most distant notion of the place where these scenes are represented, or of the materials of which it is composed."<sup>1</sup> From such a conclusion, the passage to scepticism on the immateriality of the soul was a natural and easy step: but on such a subject we must be cautious as to the manner in which we make remarks on the observations made by Hume—we neither appear as among his vindicators, nor for the purpose of disputing his conclusions—our purpose is, as faithful biographers, to give, as far as our limits and our knowledge of the subject may admit, a sketch of his leading doctrines, and if we have any thing to vindicate, it will be the author's real meaning, which certain zealous defenders of Christianity, have shown an anxiety to turn as batteries against it. In his reasonings on the immateriality of the soul he is truly scepti-

<sup>1</sup> Works (1826), i. 322.

cal; that is, while he does not *deny* the immateriality of the soul, he endeavours to show that the mind can form no certain conception of the immaterial soul. Refining on the argument of a reasoning poet, who probably was not aware of the full meaning of his own words when he said—

—— “Of God above, or man below,  
What can we reason, but from what we know.”

The author of the treatise on Human Nature maintained that the mere succession of impressions, of which the mind was composed, admitted of no such impression as that of the immateriality of the soul, and consequently did not admit of the mind comprehending in what that immateriality consisted. Let it be remembered, that this conclusion is come to in the same manner as that against the consciousness of the mind to the existence of matter; and that in neither case does the author maintain certain opinions which men believe to be *less certain* than they are generally conceived to be, but gives to them a name different from that which language generally bestows on them—that of *masses of probabilities*, instead of *certainities*,—the latter being a term he reserves solely for the impressions of the senses. “Should it here be asked me,” says the author, “whether I sincerely assent to this argument, which I seem to take such pains to inculcate, and whether I be really one of those sceptics, who hold that all is uncertain, and that our judgment is not in *any* thing, possessed of *any* measures of truth and falsehood; I should reply, that this question is entirely superfluous, and that neither I, nor any other person, was ever sincerely and constantly of that opinion. Nature, by an absolute and uncontrollable necessity, has determined us to judge as well as to breathe and feel; nor can we any more forbear viewing certain objects in a stronger and fuller light, upon account of their customary connexion with a present impression, than we can hinder ourselves from thinking, as long as we are awake, or seeing the surrounding bodies, when we turn our eyes towards them in broad sunshine. Whoever has taken the pains to refute the cavils of this *total* scepticism, has really disputed without an antagonist, and endeavoured by arguments to establish a faculty which nature has antecedently implanted in the mind, and rendered unavoidable.”<sup>2</sup> With this extremely clear statement, which shows us, that while Hume had a method of accounting for the sources of our knowledge differing from the theories of other philosophers, in the abstract certainty which he admitted to pertain to any knowledge beyond the existence of an impression, his belief in the ordinary admitted sources of human knowledge was not less practically strong than that of other people,—let us connect the concluding words on the chapter on the immortality of the soul: “There is no foundation for any conclusion *a priori*, either concerning the operations or duration of any object, of which ’tis possible for the human mind to form a conception. Any object may be imagined to become entirely inactive, or to be annihilated in a moment: and ’tis an evident principle, *that whatever we can imagine is possible*. Now this is no more true of matter than of spirit—of an extended compounded substance, than of a simple and unextended. In both cases the metaphysical arguments for the immortality of the soul are equally inconclusive; and in both cases the moral arguments, and those derived from the analogy of nature, are equally strong and convincing. If my philosophy, therefore, makes no addition to the arguments for religion, I have at least the satisfaction to think it takes nothing from them, but that every thing remains precisely as before.”<sup>3</sup> Without pretending to calculate the ultimate direction of the philosophy of Hume, as it regards revealed religion, let us repeat the remark, that many persons

<sup>2</sup> Works, vol. I. p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> Works; p. 319.

busied themselves in increasing its terrors as an engine against the Christian faith, that they might have the merit of displaying a chivalrous resistance. The presumptions thus formed and fostered, caused a vigorous investigation into the grounds of all belief, and many good and able men were startled to find that it was necessary to admit many of the positions assumed by their subtle antagonist, and that they must employ the vigorous logic they had brought to the field, in stoutly fortifying a position he did not attack. They found "the metaphysical arguments inconclusive," and "the moral arguments, and those derived from the analogy of nature, equally strong and convincing;" and that useful and beautiful system of natural theology, which has been enriched by the investigations of Derham, Tucker,<sup>4</sup> and Paley, gave place to obscure investigations into first causes, and idle theories on the grounds of belief, which generally landed the philosophers in a circle of confusion, and amazed the reader with incomprehensibilities. One of the most clear and original of the chapters of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, has provided us with a curious practical instance of the pliability of the sceptical philosophy of Hume. In treating the subject of cause and effect, Mr Hume, with fidelity to his previous division of perceptions, found nothing in the effect produced on the mind by any two phenomena, of which the one received the name of cause, the other that of effect, but two *impressions*, and no connexion betwixt them, but the sequence of the latter to the former; attributing our natural belief that the one is a cause, and the other its effect, to the habit of the mind in running from the one impression to that which is its immediate sequent, or precedent; denying that we can have any conception of cause and effect beyond those instances of which the mind has had experience, and which habit has taught it; and, finally, denying that mankind can penetrate farther into the mystery, than the simple knowledge that the one phenomenon is experienced to follow the other. Men of undoubtedly pure religious faith have maintained the justness of this system as a metaphysical one, and it has found its way into physical science, as a check to vague theories, and the assumption of conjectural causes: in a memorable instance, it was however attacked as *metaphysically* subversive of a proper belief in the Deity as a first cause. The persons who maintained this argument, were answered, that an opposite supposition was *morally* subversive of a necessity for the constant existence and presence of the Deity; because, if "a cause had the innate power within it of producing its common effect, the whole fabric of the universe had an innate power of existence and progression in its various changes, which dispensed with the existence of a supreme regulator."

The second volume of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, discusses the passions on the principles laid down at the commencement of the previous volume. The subjects here treated, while they are not of so strikingly original a description as to prompt us to enlarge on their contents, may be a more acceptable morsel to most readers, and certainly may be perused with more of what is termed satisfaction, than the obscure and somewhat disheartening investigations of the pure metaphysician. Of the usual subtilty and acuteness of the author they are of course not destitute; but the theatre of investigation does not admit of much abstraction, and these qualities exercise themselves on subjects more tangible and comprehensible, than those of the author's prior labours.

The production of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, stands almost alone in the history of the human mind; let it be remembered that the author had just reached that period of existence when the animal spirits exercise their strongest

<sup>4</sup> Not Josiah, but Abraham Tucker, who, under the assumed name of "Search," wrote a book on the light of nature, in 9 vols., 8vo. An unobtrusive and profound work, not very inviting, and little read, which later philosophers have pillaged without compunction.

sway, and those whom nature has gifted with talents and observation, are exulting in a brilliant world before them, of which they are enjoying the prospective felicity, without tasting much of the bitterness; and that this extensive treatise, so varied in the subjects embraced, so patiently collected by a lengthened labour of investigation and reflection, and entering on views so adverse to all that reason had previously taught men to believe, and so repulsive to the common feelings of the world, was the first literary attempt which the author deigned to place before the public. Perhaps a very close examination of the early habits and conduct of the author, could the materials of such be obtained, would scarcely furnish us with a clue to so singular a riddle; but in a general sense, we may not diverge far from the truth in supposing, that the circumstances of his earlier intercourse with the world, had not prompted the author to entertain a very charitable view of mankind, and that the bitterness thus engendered coming under the cognizance of his reflective mind, instead of turning him into a stoic and practical enemy of his species, produced that singular system which, holding out nothing but doubt as the end of all mortal investigations, struck a silent blow at the dignity of human nature, and at much of its happiness. In a very singular passage, he thus speaks of his comfortless philosophy, and of the feelings it produces in the mind of its Cain-like fabricator. "I am first affrighted and confounded with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed in my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster, who, not being able to mingle and unite in society, has been expelled all human commerce, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for shelter and warmth, but cannot prevail with myself to mix with such deformity. I call upon others to join me, in order to make a company apart, but no one will hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads that storm which beats upon me from every side. I have exposed myself to the enmity of all metaphysicians, logicians, mathematicians, and even theologians; and can I wonder at the insults I must suffer? I have declared my disapprobation of their systems; and can I be surprised if they should express a hatred of mine and of my person? When I look abroad, I foresee on every side dispute, contradiction, anger, calumny, and detraction. When I turn my eye inward, I find nothing but doubt and ignorance. All the world conspires to oppose and contradict me: though such is my weakness, that I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of themselves, when unsupported by the approbation of others. Every step I take is with hesitation, and every new reflection makes me dread an error and absurdity in my reasoning."<sup>5</sup> In the same spirit he writes to his friend, Mr Henry Home, immediately after the publication of the treatise: "Those," he says, "who are accustomed to reflect on such abstract subjects, are commonly full of prejudices; and those who are unprejudiced, are unacquainted with metaphysical reasonings. My principles are also so remote from all the vulgar sentiments on the subject, that were they to take place, they would produce almost a total alteration in philosophy; and you know revolutions of this kind are not easily brought about."<sup>6</sup>

Hume, when the reflection of more advanced life, and his habits of unceasing thought had made a more clear arrangement in his mind, of the principles of his philosophy, found many things to blame and alter in his treatise, not so much in the fundamental arguments, as in their want of arrangement, and the obscure garb of words in which he had clothed them. On the feelings he entertained on this subject, we find him afterwards writing to Dr John Stewart, and we shall here quote a rather mutilated fragment of this epistle, which has

<sup>5</sup> Works, i. p. 235.

<sup>6</sup> Pytler's *Life of Kames*.

hitherto been unprinted, and is interesting as containing an illustration of his arguments on belief:—"Allow me to tell you that I never asserted so absurd a proposition, as that any thing might arise without a cause. I only maintained that our certainty of the falsehood of that proposition proceeded neither from intuition nor demonstration, but from another source. That Cesar existed, that there is such an island as Sicily; for these propositions, I affirm, we have no demonstration nor intuitive proof. Would you infer that I deny their truth, or even their certainty? and some of them as satisfactory to the mind, though, perhaps, not so regular as the demonstrative kind. Where a man of sense mistakes my meaning, I own I am angry, but it is only with myself, for having expressed my meaning so ill as to have given occasion to the mistake. That you may see I would no way scruple of owning my mistakes in argument, I shall acknowledge (what is infinitely more material) a very great mistake in conduct; viz. my publishing at all the *Treatise of Human Nature*, a book which pretended to innovate in all the sublimest parts of philosophy, and which I composed before I was five and twenty. Above all, the positive air which pervades that book, and which may be imputed to the ardour of youth, so much displeases me, that I have not patience to review it. I am willing to be unheeded by the public, though human life is so short that I despair of ever seeing the decision. I wish I had always confined myself to the more easy paths of erudition; but you will excuse me from submitting to proverbial decision, let it even be in Greek."

The effect produced on the literary world by the appearance of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, was not flattering to a young author. "Never literary attempt," says Mr Hume, "was more unfortunate than my *Treatise on Human Nature*. It fell *dead-born from the press*, without reaching such distinction, as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow, and prosecuted with great ardour my studies in the country." The equanimity, and contempt for public opinion which Hume has here arrogated to himself, seems to be considered as somewhat doubtful, by his principal biographer,<sup>7</sup> on the ground of the following curious statement in Dr Kenrick's London Review:—"His disappointment at the public reception of his *Essay on Human Nature*, had indeed a violent effect on his passions in a particular instance; it not having dropped so *dead-born from the press*, but that it was severely handled by the reviewers of those times, in a publication entitled, *The Works of the Learned*; a circumstance which so highly provoked our young philosopher, that he flew in a violent rage to demand satisfaction of Jacob Robinson, the publisher, whom he kept, during

<sup>7</sup> Ritchie's life of Hume, p. 29. It is not creditable to the literature of the country, that while the memoirs of Kames, Beattie, and others, have been written very elaborately, and published in a splendid manner, this life by Mr Ritchie is the only detailed memoir of Hume we possess: the fault, perhaps, lies chiefly with the family connexions of the philosopher, who, to all applications for the materials which they possess for an extended memoir, have invariably returned for answer, that, as their distinguished kinsman wrote his own life, and no doubt put into it all that he desired to be known respecting himself, they do not consider themselves at liberty to publish any more: an answer certainly, but one in which it might be difficult to discern a reason. Mr Ritchie, though a candid writer, is strikingly inferior to his task. As an instance of his inability even to understand the commonest propositions of Hume, we shall adduce the following:—"The philosopher commencing a train of argument with the word 'England,' maintains that, were all the gold of the country rendered as common as silver, and silver as common as copper, money would not be more plentiful, or interest lower; our shillings would then be yellow, and our halfpence white; and we should have no guineas. No other difference would ever be observed; no alteration on commerce, manufacture, navigation, or interest; unless that we imagine that the colour of the metal was of any consequence. Mr Ritchie summons great powers of argument against this heresy: 'If England,' he says, 'were the only inhabited country in the world, Mr Hume's inference would be just; but while the precious metals are in high and universal request among foreign nations, a superabundant quantity of them in this country must ever have an essential effect on our internal and external economy!'"

the paroxysm of his anger, at his sword's point, trembling behind the counter, lest a period should be put to the life of a sober critic by a raving philosopher." The degree of credit to be attributed to this anecdote, must just be measured by the amount to which we may choose to believe the anonymous contributor to a periodical not celebrated for its regard to truth, who writes just after the death of the person concerned, and forty years after the period of the event he narrates. We have perused with much interest the article in "The Works of the Learned" here alluded to, and it is certainly not likely to engender calm feelings in the mind of the author reviewed. It is of some length, attempting no philosophical confutation, but from the ingenuity with which the most objectionable passages of the Treatise are brought forward to stand in naked grotesqueness without connexion, it must have come from some one who has carefully perused the book, and from no ordinary writer. The vulgar raillery with which it is filled might point out Warburton, but then the critic does not call the author a liar, a knave, or a fool, and the following almost prophetic passage with which the critic concludes (differing considerably in tone from the other parts), could not possibly have emanated from the head and heart of the great defender of the church: "It bears, indeed, incontestible marks of a great capacity, of a soaring genius, but young, and not yet thoroughly practised. The subject is vast and noble, as any that can exercise the understanding; but it requires a very mature judgment to handle it as becomes its dignity and importance; the utmost prudence, tenderness, and delicacy, are requisite to this desirable issue. Time and use may ripen these qualities in our author; and we shall probably have reason to consider this, compared with his latter productions, in the same light as we view the *juvenile* works of Milton or the first manner of a *Raphael*."

The third part of Mr Hume's Treatise of Human Nature, was published in 1740: it treated the subject of morals, and was divided into two parts, the former discussing "Virtue and Vice in general," the second treating of "Justice and Injustice." The scope of this essay is to show that there is no abstract and certain distinction betwixt moral good and evil, and while it admits a sense of virtue to have a practical existence in the mind of every human being, (however it may have established itself,) it draws a distinction betwixt those virtues of which every man's sense of right is capable of taking cognizance; and justice, which it maintains to be an artificial virtue, erected certainly on the general wish of mankind to act rightly, but a virtue which men do not naturally follow, until a system is invented by human means, and based on reasonable principles of general utility to the species, which shows men what is just, and what is unjust, and can best be followed by the man, who has best studied its general artificial form, in conjunction with its application to utility, and who brings the most acute perception and judgment to assist him in the task.<sup>8</sup> The greater plainness of the subject, and its particular reference to the hourly duties of life, made this essay more interesting to moral philosophers, and laid it more widely open to criticism, than the Treatise on the Understanding, and even that on the Passions. The extensive reference to principles of utility, produced discussions to which it were an idle and endless work here to refer; but without any disrespect to those celebrated men who have directly combated the principles of this work, and supported totally different theories of the formation of morals, those

<sup>8</sup> Thus this portion of the system bore a considerable resemblance to the theory so elaborately expounded in the Leviathan of Hobbes, with this grand distinction, that Hume, while maintaining the necessity that a system of justice should be framed, does not maintain that it had its origin in the natural injustice of mankind, and their hatred of each other, nor does he attribute the formation of the system to a complicated social contract, like that which occurred to the mind of the Malinesbury philosopher.



who have twisted the principles of the author into excuses for vice and immorality, and the destruction of all inducements to the practice of virtue, deserve only the fame of being themselves the fabricators of the crooked morality of which they have endeavoured to cast the odium upon another. When Mr Hume says, "The necessity of justice to the support of society is the sole foundation of that virtue: and since no moral excellence is more highly esteemed, we may conclude, that this circumstance of usefulness has, in general, the strongest energy, and most entire command over our sentiments. It must, therefore, be the source of a considerable part of the merit ascribed to humanity, benevolence, friendship, public spirit, and other social virtues of that stamp; as it is the sole source of the moral approbation paid to fidelity, justice, veracity, integrity, and those other estimable and useful qualities and principles:"—it was not difficult for these benevolent guardians of the public mind, who sat in watch to intercept such declarations, to hold such an opinion up to public indignation, and to maintain that it admitted every man to examine his actions by his own sense of their utility, and to commit vice by the application of a theory of expediency appropriated to the act. It is not necessary to be either a vindicator or assailant of Mr Hume's theory, to perceive that what he has traced back to the original foundation of expediency, is not by him made different in its practice and effects, from those which good men of all persuasions in religion and philosophy admit. While he told men that he had traced the whole system of the morality they practiced, to certain principles different from those generally admitted, he did not tell men to alter their natural reverence for virtue or abhorrence towards vice; the division betwixt good and evil had been formed, and while giving his opinion *how* it had been formed, he did not dictate a new method of regulating human actions, and except in the hands of those who applied his theories of the origin of virtue and vice, to the totally different purpose of an application to their practice in individual cases, he did no more to break down the barriers of distinction betwixt them, than he who first suggested that the organs of sight merely presented to the mind the *reflections* of visible objects, may be supposed to have done to render the mind less certain of the existence of external objects. "There is no spectacle," says the author, "so fair and beautiful as a noble and generous action; nor any which gives us more abhorrence than one which is cruel and treacherous. No enjoyment equals the satisfaction we receive from the company of those we love and esteem; as the greatest of all punishments is to be obliged to pass our lives with those we hate or condemn. A very play or romance may afford us instances of this pleasure which virtue conveys to us, and the pain which arises from vice;" and it would be difficult to find in this elaborate essay, any remark to contradict the impression of the author's views, which every candid mind must receive from such a declaration.

The neglect with which his first production was received by the public, while it did not abate the steady industry of its author, turned his attention for a time to subjects which might be more acceptable to general readers, and in the calm retirement of his brother's house at Ninewells, where he pursued his studies with solitary zeal, he prepared two volumes of unconnected dissertations, entitled "Essays Moral and Philosophical," which he published in 1742. These essays he had intended to have published in weekly papers, after the method pursued by the authors of the *Spectator*; "but," he observes, in an advertisement prefixed to the first edition, "having dropped that undertaking, partly from laziness, partly from want of leisure, and being willing to make trial of my talents for writing before I ventured upon any more serious compositions, I was induced to commit these tritles to the judgment of the public." A

few of the subjects of these essays are the following: "Of the Delicacy of Taste and Passion," "That Politics may be reduced to a Science," "Of the Independency of Parliament," "Of the Parties in Great Britain," "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm," "Of Liberty and Despotism," "Of Eloquence," "Of Simplicity and Refinement," "A character of Sir Robert Walpole," &c. Of these miscellaneous productions we cannot venture the most passing analysis, in a memoir which must necessarily be brief: of their general character it may be sufficient to say, that his style of writing, which in his *Treatise* was far from approaching the purity and elegance of composition which he afterwards displayed, had made a rapid advance to excellence, and that the reading world quickly discovered from the justness and accuracy of his views, the elegance of his sentiments, and the clear precision with which he stated his arguments, that the subtle calculator of the origin of all human knowledge could direct an acute eye to the proceedings of the world around him, and that he was capable of making less abstract calculations on the motives which affected mankind. A few of these essays, which he seems to have denounced as of too light a nature to accompany his other works, were not republished during his life; among the subjects of these are "Impudence and Modesty," "Love and Marriage," "Avarice," &c. Although these have been negatively stigmatized by their author, a general reader will find much gratification in their perusal: the subjects are handled with the careless touch of a satirist, and in drawing so lightly and almost playfully pictures of what is contemptible and ridiculous, one can scarcely avoid the conviction that such is the aspect in which the author wishes to appear; but on the other hand there is such a complete absence of all grotesqueness, of exaggeration, or attempt at ridicule, that it is apparent he is drawing a picture of what he knows to be unchangeably rooted in human nature, and that knowing railery to be useless, he is content as a philosopher merely to depict the deformity which cannot be altered. Among the essays he did not re-publish, is the "Character of Sir Robert Walpole," a singular specimen of the author's ability to abstract himself from the political feelings of the time, calmly describing the character of a living statesman, whose conduct was perhaps more feverishly debated by his friends and enemies than that of almost any minister in any nation, as if he were a person of a distant age, with which the author had no sympathy, or of a land with which he was only acquainted through the pages of the traveller. It was after the publication of this work that Hume first enjoyed the gratification of something like public applause. "The work," he says "was favourably received, and soon made me entirely forget my former disappointment." He still rigidly adhered to his plans of economy and retirement, and continued to reside at Ninewells, applying himself to the study of Greek, which he had previously neglected. In 1745, he was invited to become tutor to the marquis of Annandale, a young nobleman whose state of mind at that period rendered a superintendent necessary; and though the situation must have been one not conducive to study, or pleasing to such a mind as that of Hume, he found that his circumstances would not justify a refusal of the invitation, and he continued for the period of a year in the family of the marquis.

During his residence in this family, the death of Mr Cleghorn, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, caused a vacancy, which Mr Hume very naturally considered he might be capable of filling. The patrons of the university, however, and their advisers, took a different view of the matter, and judged that they would be at least more safe, in considering a person of his reputed principles of philosophy, as by no means a proper instructor of youth: nor were virulence and party feeling unmingled with cool judgment in fixing their choice. "I am informed," says Hume, in one of his playful letters

addressed to his friend Mr Sharp of Hoddam, "that such a popular clamour has been raised against me in Edinburgh, on account of scepticism, heterodoxy, and other hard names which confound the ignorant, that my friends find some difficulty in working out the point of my professorship, which once appeared so easy. Did I need a testimonial for my orthodoxy, I should certainly appeal to you; for you know that I always imitated Job's friends, and defended the cause of providence when you attacked it, on account of the headaches you felt after a debauch, but as a more particular explication of that particular seems superfluous, I shall only apply to you for a renewal of your good offices, with your friend lord Tinwald, whose interest with Yetts and Allan may be of service to me. There is no time to lose; so that I must beg you to be speedy in writing to him, or speaking to him on that head." The successful candidate was Mr James Balfour, advocate, a gentleman who afterwards became slightly known to the literary world as the author of "A Delineation of the Nature and Obligations of Morality, with reflections on Mr Hume's Inquiry concerning the principles of Morals," a work which has died out of remembrance, but the candid spirit of which prompted Hume to write a complimentary letter to the (then) anonymous author. The disappointment of not being able to obtain a situation so desirable as affording a respectable and permanent salary, and so suited to his studies, seems to have preyed more heavily than any other event in his life, on the spirits of Mr Hume; and with the desire of being independent of the world, he seems for a short time to have hesitated whether he should continue his studies, or at once relinquish the pursuit of philosophical fame, by joining the army.

During the ensuing year, his desire to be placed in a situation of respectability was to a certain extent gratified, by his being appointed secretary to lieutenant-general St Clair, who had been chosen to command an expedition avowedly against Canada, but which terminated in a useless incursion on the coast of France. In the year 1747, general St Clair was appointed to superintend an embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin, and declining to accept a secretary from government, Hume, for whom he seems to have entertained a partiality, accompanied him in his former capacity. He here enjoyed the society of Sir Henry Erskine and captain (afterwards general) Grant, and mixing a little with the world, and joining in the fashionable society of the places which he visited, he seems to have enjoyed a partial relaxation from his philosophical labours. Although he mentions that these two years were almost the only interruptions which his studies had received during the course of his life, he does not seem to have entirely neglected his pursuits as an author; in a letter to his friend Henry Home, he hints at the probability of his devoting his time to historical subjects, and continues, "I have here two things going on, a new edition of my *Essays*, all of which you have seen except *one* of the Protestant succession, where I treat that subject as coolly and indifferently as I would the dispute betwixt Cesar and Pompey. The conclusion shows me a whig, but a very sceptical one."<sup>10</sup>

Lord Charlemont, who at this period met with Mr Hume at Turin, has given the following account of his habits and appearance, penned apparently with a greater aim at effect than at truth, yet somewhat characteristic of the philosopher: "Nature I believe never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of physiognomy were baffled by his countenance; neither could the most skilful in that science pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his mind, in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes vacant and spiritless; and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a

<sup>10</sup> Tytler's Life of Kames.

turtle-eating alderman than of a refined philosopher. His speech in English was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scottish accent, and his French, was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old,<sup>11</sup> he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing a uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the train-bands. Sinclair was a lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was therefore thought necessary that his secretary should appear to be an officer; and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet."<sup>12</sup>

The letter to Mr Home we have quoted above, gives an idea of the literary employments of the author during the intervals of his official engagements at Turin, and on his return to Britain he exhibited the fruit of his labour in a second edition of his "Essays, Moral and Political," which was published in 1748, with four additional essays, and in a re-construction of the first part of his Treatise of Human Nature, which he published immediately after, under the title "Philosophical Essays concerning the Human Understanding," and formed the first part of the well-known corrected digest of the Treatise of Human Nature, into the "Inquiry concerning Human Nature." In the advertisement the author informs the public that "most of the principles and reasonings in this volume were published in a work in three volumes, called A Treatise of Human Nature, a work which the author had projected before he left college, and which he wrote and published not long after. The philosophy of this work is essentially the same as that of which he had previously sketched a more rude and complicated draught. The object, (or more properly speaking, the conclusion arrived at, for the person who sets out without admissions, and inquires whether any thing can be *ascertained* in philosophy, can scarcely be said to have an *object* in view,) is the same system of doubt which he previously expounded; a scepticism, not like that of Boyle and others, which merely went to show the uncertainty of the conclusions attending particular species of argument, but a sweeping argument to show that by the structure of the understanding, the result of all investigations, on all subjects, must ever be doubt." The Inquiry must be to every reader a work far more pleasing, and we may even say, instructive, than the Treatise. While many of the more startling arguments, assuming the appearance of paradoxes, sometimes indistinctly connected with the subject, are omitted, others are laid down in a clearer form; the whole is subjected to a more compact arrangement, and the early style of the writer, which to many natural beauties, united a considerable feebleness and occasional harshness, makes in this work a very near approach to the elegance and classic accuracy, which much perseverance, and a refined taste enabled the author to acquire in the more advanced period of his life. Passing over, as our limits must compel us, any attempt at an analytical comparison of the two works, and a narrative of the changes in the author's opinions, we must not omit the circumstance, that the Essay on Miracles, which it will be remembered the author withheld from his Treatise, was attached to the Inquiry, probably after a careful revision and correction. Locke had hinted in a few desultory observations the grounds of a disbelief in the miracles attributed to the early Christian church, and Dr Conyers Middleton, in his Free Inquiry into the miraculous powers supposed to have subsisted in the Christian church from the earliest ages,

<sup>11</sup> His lordship must have made a mis-calculation. Hume was then only in his 38th year.

<sup>12</sup> Hardy's Life of lord Charlemont, p. 8

published very nearly at the same period with the Essay of Hume, struck a more decided blow at all supernatural agency beyond what was justified by the sacred Scriptures, and approached by his arguments a dangerous neighbourhood to an interference with what he did not avowedly attack. Hume considered the subject as a general point in the human understanding to which he admitted no exceptions. The argument of this remarkable essay is too well known to require an explanation; but the impartiality too often infringed when the works of this philosopher are the subject of consideration, requires that it should be kept in mind, that he treats the proof of miracles, as he does that of the existence of matter, in a manner purely sceptical, with this practical distinction,—that supposing a person is convinced of, or chooses to say he believes in the abstract existence of matter, independent of the mere impressions conveyed by the senses, there is still room to *doubt* that miracles have been worked. It would have been entirely at variance with the principles of scepticism to have maintained that miracles were not, and could not have been performed, according to the laws of nature; but the argument of Mr Hume certainly leans to the practical conclusion, that our uncertainty as to what we are said to have *experienced*, expands into a greater uncertainty of the existence of miracles, which are contrary to the course of our experience; because belief in evidence is founded entirely on our belief in experience, and on the circumstance, that what we hear from the testimony of others coincides with the current of that experience; and whenever testimony is contradictory to the current of our experience, the latter is the more probable, and should we be inclined to *believe* in it, we must at least *doubt* the former. Thus the author concludes "That no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish: and even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior." The application of his argument to the doctrines of Christianity he conceives to be, that "it may serve to confound those dangerous friends, or disguised enemies to the Christian religion, who have undertaken to defend it by the principles of human reason; our most holy religion is founded on *faith*, not on reason; and it is a sure method of exposing it to put it to such a trial as it is by no means fitted to endure."<sup>13</sup> Considering the matter, apart from the reference it has been considered to have to holy writ, the Essay on Miracles is the most sound and conclusive exposition of the proper principles of ordinary belief which has ever been penned. The arguments cannot be too well considered by the historian or the reader of history; and were they better appreciated by men, and cautiously infused into the minds of the young, before slovenly habits of thought on such subjects have taken root in the mind, history might gradually be purged of its fable, the natural hankering after the marvellous might be checked, and when the false appetite for exaggeration had begun to decay, those who call themselves writers of history might cease in their attempts to gratify a craving no longer felt.

The work by Dr Campbell in confutation of this essay, at first concocted in the form of a sermon, and afterwards expanded into a treatise, which was published in 1762, is well known and appreciated; but it may not be useless to repeat the remark, that the excellent arguments of the author have had the more weight, because he treated the subject not like a petulant child, but like a philosopher. The work, in a state of manuscript, was shown to Hume by Dr Blair. Hume was much pleased with the candour of the transaction; he remarked a few passages hardly in accordance with the calm feelings of the other

<sup>13</sup> Works, iv. 135-153.

portions of the work, which at his suggestion the author amended; and he personally wrote to Dr Campbell, with his usual calm politeness, thanking him for treatment so unexpected from a clergyman of the church of Scotland; and, with the statement that he had made an early resolution not to answer attacks on his opinions, acknowledged that he never felt so violent an inclination to defend himself. The respect which Campbell admitted himself to entertain for the sceptic is thus expressed:

"The Essay on Miracles deserves to be considered as one of the most dangerous attacks that have been made on our religion. The danger results not solely from the merit of *the piece*: it results much more from that of *the author*. The piece itself, like every other work of Mr Hume, is ingenious; but its merit is more of the oratorical kind than of the philosophical. The merit of the *author*, I acknowledge, is great. The many useful volumes he has published of *history*, as well as on *criticism*, *politics*, and *trade*, have justly procured him, with all persons of taste and discernment, the highest reputation as a writer. \* \* In such *analysis* and *exposition*, which I own, I have attempted without ceremony or reserve, an air of *ridicule* is unavoidable; but this *ridicule*, I am well aware, if founded on *misrepresentation*, will at last rebound upon myself."<sup>14</sup>

Dr Campbell was a man of strong good sense, and knew well the description of argument which the world would best appreciate, approve, and comprehend, in answer to the perplexing subtleties of his opponent. He struck at the root of the system of perceptions merging into experience, and experience regulating the value of testimony, which had been erected by his adversary,—and appealing, not to the passions and feelings in favour of religion, but to the common convictions which we deem to be founded on reason, and cannot separate from our minds, maintained that "testimony has a natural and original influence on belief, antecedent to experience," from which position he proceeded to show, that the miracles of the gospel had received attestation sufficient to satisfy the reason. With his usual soundness and good sense, though scarcely with the profundity which the subject required, Dr Paley joined the band of confutors, while he left Hume to triumph in the retention of the effects attributed to experience, maintaining that the principle so established was counteracted by our natural expectation that the Deity should manifest his existence, by doing such acts contrary to the established order of the universe, as would plainly show that order to be of his own fabrication, and at his own command.

Before leaving the subject of the Inquiry concerning Human Understanding, we may mention that Mr Coleridge in his *Biographia Literaria*, has accused Hume of plagiarizing the exposition of the Principles of Association in that work, from the unexpected source of the Commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, on the *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle, and the charge, with however much futility it may be supported, demands, when coming from so celebrated a man, the consideration of the biographer. Mr Coleridge's words are, "In consulting the excellent Commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, on the *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle, I was struck at once with its close resemblance to Hume's Essay on Association. The main thoughts were the same in both, the *order* of the thoughts was the same, and even the illustrations differed only by Hume's occasional substitution of modern examples. I mentioned the circumstance to several of my literary acquaintances, who admitted the closeness of the resemblance, and that it seemed too great to be explained by mere coincidence; but they thought it improbable that Hume should have held the pages of the angelic doctor worth turning over. But some time after, Mr Payne, of the King's Mews, showed Sir

<sup>14</sup> Edit. 1797, Advert. p. viii.

James Mackintosh some odd volumes of St Thomas Aquinas, partly, perhaps, from having heard that Sir James (then Mr) Mackintosh, had, in his lectures, passed a high encomium on this canonized philosopher, but chiefly from the facts, that the volumes had belonged to Mr Hume, and had here and there marginal marks and notes of reference in his own hand-writing. Among these volumes was that which contains the *Parva Naturalia*, in the old Latin version, swathed and swaddled in the commentary afore mentioned." When a person has spent much time in the perusal of works so unlikely to be productive, as those of Aquinas, the discovery of any little coincidence, or of any idea that may attract attention, is a fortunate incident, of which the discoverer cannot avoid informing the world, that it may see what he has been doing, and the coincidence in question is such as might have excused an allusion to the subject, as a curiosity. But it was certainly a piece of (no doubt heedless) disingenuousness on the part of Mr Coleridge, to make so broad and conclusive a statement, without accompanying it with a comparison. "We have read," says a periodical paper alluding to this subject, "the whole commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, and we challenge Mr Coleridge to produce from it a single illustration, or expression of any kind, to be found in Hume's essay. The whole scope and end of Hume's essay is not only different from that of St Thomas Aquinas, but there is not in the commentary of the 'angelic doctor' one idea which in any way resembles, or can be made to resemble, the beautiful illustration of the prince of sceptics."<sup>15</sup> The theory of Hume on the subject as corrected in his Inquiry, is thus expressed: "To me, there appear to be only three principles of connexion among ideas, namely, *resemblance*, *contiguity*, in time or place, and *cause or effect*. That these principles serve to connect ideas, will not, I believe, be much doubted. A picture naturally leads our thoughts to the original. The mention of one apartment in a building naturally introduces an inquiry or discourse concerning the others; and if we think of a wound, we can scarcely forbear reflecting on the pain which follows it."<sup>16</sup> From a comparison of this, with what Mr Coleridge must have presumed to be the corresponding passage in Aquinas,<sup>17</sup> it will be perceived that a natural wish to make the most of his reading had prompted him to propound the discovery. Had no other person besides Aquinas endeavoured to point out the regulating principles of association, and had Hume with such a passage before him pretended to have been the first to have discovered them, there might have been grounds for the accusation; but the methods of connexion discovered by philosophers in different ages, have been numerous, and almost always correct, as *secondary* principles. It was the object of Hume to gather these into a thread, and going back to principles as limited and ultimate as he could reach, to state as nearly as possible, not all the methods by which ideas were associated, but to set bounds to the abstract principles under which these methods might be classed. Aquinas, on the other hand, by no means sets bounds to the principles of association; he gives three *methods* of association, and in the matter of *number* resembles Hume; but had he given *twenty* methods, he might have more nearly embraced what Hume has embraced within his three principles. The method of association by resemblance is the

<sup>15</sup> Blackwood's Magazine, v. iii. 656.

<sup>16</sup> Works, iv. p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> The passage is as follows: "similiter etiam quandoque reminiscitur aliquis incipiens ab aliqua re, ejus memoratur a qua procedit ad aliam triplici ratione. Quandoque quidem ratione *similitudinis*, sicut quando aliquis memoratur de Socrate, et per hoc occurrit ei Plato, qui est similis ei in sapientia: quandoque vero ratione *contrarietatis*, sicut si aliquis memoretur Hectoris, et per hoc occurrit ei Achilles. Quandoque vero ratione *propinquitatis* ejuscunque, sicut cum aliquis memor est patris, et per hoc occurrit ei filius. Et eadem ratio est de quacunque alia propinquitate vel societatis, vel loci, vel temporis, et propter hoc fit reminiscencia, quia motus horum se invicem consequuntur."

only one stated by both : with regard to the second principle by Aquinas, contrariety, from the illustration with which he has accompanied it, he appears to mean local or physical opposition, such as the opposition of two combatants in a battle, and not the interpretation now generally bestowed on the term by philosophers. But supposing him to have understood it in the latter sense, Hume has taken pains to show that contrariety cannot easily be admitted as a fourth ultimate principle : thus in a note he says, "For instance, contrast or contrariety is also a connexion among ideas, but it may perhaps be considered as a mixture of *causation* and *resemblance*. Where two objects are contrary, the one destroys the other; that is, is the cause of its annihilation, and the idea of the annihilation of an object, implies the idea of its former existence." Aquinas, it will be remarked, entirely omits "cause and effect," and his "contiguity" is of a totally different nature from that of Hume, since it embraces an illustration which Hume would have referred to the principle of "cause and effect."

"I had always," says Hume, in reference to the work we have just been noticing, "entertained a notion that my want of success in publishing the *Treatise of Human Nature*, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter, and that I had been guilty of a very usual indiscretion, in going to the press too early. I, therefore, cast the first part of the work anew, in the *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, which was published while I was at Turin. But this piece was at first little more successful than the *Treatise of Human Nature*. On my return from Italy, I had the mortification to find all England in a ferment, on account of Dr Middleton's *Free Inquiry*, while my performance was entirely overlooked and neglected."

About this period, Hume suffered the loss of a mother, who, according to his own account, when speaking of his earlier days, was "a woman of singular merit, who, though young and handsome, devoted herself entirely to the rearing of her children;" and the philosopher seems to have regarded her with a strong and devoted affection. He was a man whose disposition led him to unite himself to the world by few of the ordinary ties, but the few which imperceptibly held him, were not broken without pain; on these occasions the philosopher yielded to the man, and the cold sceptic discovered the feelings with which nature had gifted him, which at other moments lay chained by the bonds of his powerful reason. A very different account of the effect of this event, from what we have just now stated, is given in the passage we are about to quote (as copied in the *Quarterly Review*,) from the travels of the American Silliman. Without arguing as to the probability or improbability of its containing a true statement, let us remark that it is destitute of *proof*, a quality it amply requires, being given by the traveller forty years after the death of the philosopher, from the report of an individual, while the circumstance is not one which would have probably escaped the religious zeal of some of Mr Hume's commentators.

"It seems that Hume received a religious education from his mother, and early in life was the subject of strong and hopeful religious impressions; but as he approached manhood they were effaced, and confirmed infidelity succeeded. Maternal partiality, however, alarmed at first, came at length to look with less and less pain upon this declension, and filial love and reverence seem to have been absorbed in the pride of philosophical scepticism; for Hume now applied himself with unwearied and unhappily with successful efforts, to sap the foundation of his mother's faith. Having succeeded in this dreadful work, he went abroad into foreign countries; and as he was returning, an express met him in London, with a letter from his mother, informing him that she was in a deep decline, and could not long survive: she said she found herself without any support in her distress: that he had taken away that source of comfort upon which, in all cases



of affliction, she used to rely, and that she now found her mind sinking into despair. She did not doubt but her son would afford her some substitute for her religion, and she conjured him to hasten to her, or at least to send her a letter, containing such consolations as philosophy can afford to a dying mortal. Hume was overwhelmed with anguish on receiving this letter, and hastened to Scotland, travelling day and night; but before he arrived, his mother expired. No permanent impression seems, however, to have been made on his mind by this most trying event; and whatever remorse he might have felt at the moment, he soon relapsed into his wonted obduracy of heart."

On the appearance of this anecdote, Mr (now baron) Hume, the philosopher's nephew, communicated to the editor of the Quarterly Review the following anecdote, of a more pleasing nature, connected with the same circumstance; and while it is apparent that it stands on better ground, we may mention that it is acknowledged by the reviewer as an authenticated contradiction to the statement of Silliman. "David and he (the hon. Mr Boyle, brother of the earl of Glasgow) were both in London, *at the period when David's mother died.* Mr Boyle, hearing of it, soon after went into his apartment, for they lodged in the same house, where he found him in the deepest affliction, and in a flood of tears. After the usual topics of condolence, Mr Boyle said to him, 'My friend you owe this uncommon grief to your having thrown off the principles of religion; for if you had not, you would have been consoled with the firm belief, that the good lady, who was not only the best of mothers, but the most pious of Christians, was completely happy in the realms of the just.' To which David replied, 'Though I throw out my speculations to entertain the learned and metaphysical world, yet, in other things, I do not think so differently from the rest of mankind as you imagine.'"

Hume returned, in 1749, to the retirement of his brother's house at Nine-wells, and during a residence there for two years, continued his remodeling of his Treatise of Human Nature, and prepared for the press his celebrated Political Discourses. The former production appeared in 1751, under the title of an "Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals," published by Millar, the celebrated bookseller. Hume considered this the most perfect of his works, and it is impossible to resist admiration of the clearness of the arguments, and the beautiful precision of the theories; the world, however, did not extend to it the balmy influence of popularity, and it appeared to the author, that all his literary efforts were doomed to the unhappy fate of being little regarded at first, and of gradually decaying into oblivion. "In my opinion," he says, "(who ought not to judge on that subject,) [it] is, of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best. It came unnoticed and unobserved into the world."

In 1752, and during the author's residence in Edinburgh, appeared his "Political Discourses." The subjects of these admirable essays were of interest to every one, the method of treating them was comprehensible to persons of common discernment; above all, they treated subjects on which the prejudices of few absolutely refused conviction by argument, and the author had the opportunity of being appreciated and admired, even when telling truths. The book in these circumstances, was, in the author's words, "the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication. It was well received abroad and at home." The chief subjects were, "Commerce, money, interest, the balance of trade, the populousness of ancient nations, the idea of a perfect commonwealth." Sir Josiah Child, Sir William Petty, Hobbes, and Locke, had previously given the glimmerings of more liberal principles on trade and manufacture than those which they saw practised, and hinted at the common prejudices

on the use of money and the value of labour; but Hume was the first to sketch an outline of some branches of the benevolent system of political economy framed by his illustrious friend, Adam Smith. He laid down labour as the only criterion of all value, made a near approach to an ascertainment of the true value of the precious metals, a point not yet fully fixed among economists; discovered the baneful effects of commercial limitations as obliging the nation to trade in a less profitable manner than it would choose to do if unconstrained, and predicted the dangerous consequences of the funding system. The essay on the populousness of ancient nations, was a sceptical analysis of the authorities on that subject, doubting their accuracy, on the principle of political economy that the number of the inhabitants of a nation must have a ratio to its fruitfulness and *their* industry. The essay was elaborately answered by Dr Wallace, in a Dissertation of the Numbers of Mankind, but that gentleman only produced a host of those "authorities," the efficacy of which Mr Hume has doubted on principle. This essay is an extremely useful practical application of the doctrines in the Essay on Miracles. Mr Hume's 'idea of a perfect commonwealth,' has been objected to as an impracticable system. The author probably had the wisdom to make this discovery himself, and might have as soon expected it to be applicable to practice, as a geometrician might dream of his angles, straight lines, and points, being literally accomplished in the measurement of an estate, or the building of a house. The whole represents men without passions or prejudices working like machines; and Hume no doubt admitted, that while passion, prejudice, and habit, forbade the safe attempt of such projects, such abstract structures ought to be held up to the view of the legislator, as the forms into which, so far as he can do it with safety, he ought to stretch the systems under his administration. Plato, More, Harrington, Hobbes, and (according to some accounts,) Berkeley<sup>18</sup> had employed their ingenuity in a similar manner, and Hume seems to have considered it worthy of his attention.

In February, 1752, David Hume succeeded the celebrated Ruddiman, as librarian to the Faculty of Advocates. The salary was at that time very trifling, somewhere we believe about £40, but the duties were probably little more than nominal, and the situation was considered an acquisition to a man of literary habits. It was, with this ample field of authority at his command, that he seems to have finally determined to write a portion of the History of England. In 1757, circumstances with which we are not acquainted induced him to relinquish this appointment.

In 1752, appeared the first (published) volume of the History of England, embracing the period from the accession of the house of Stuart, to the death of Charles the First; and passing over intermediate events, we may mention that the next volume, containing a continuation of the series of events to the period of the Revolution, appeared in 1756, and the third, containing the History of the house of Tudor, was published in 1759. "I was, I own," says the author with reference to the first volume, "sanguine in my expectations of the success of this work. I thought that I was the only historian that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited to every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment; I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scottish, and Irish, whig and tory, churchman and sectary, freethinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man, who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the earl of Strafford; and after the first ebullitions of their fury were over, what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink

<sup>18</sup> In the anonymous adventures of Giovanni de Lucca.

into oblivion." Of the second he says, "This performance happened to give less displeasure to the whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother." Of the History of England it is extremely difficult to give a fair and unbiased opinion, because, while the author is, in general, one of the most impartial writers on this subject, it is scarcely a paradox to say, that the few partialities in which he has indulged, have done more to warp the mind than the violent prejudices of others. Previous to his history, those who wrote on political subjects ranged themselves in parties, and each man proclaimed with open mouth the side for which he was about to argue, and men heard him as a special pleader. Hume looked over events with the eye of a philosopher; he seemed to be careless of the extent or the good or bad of either party. On neither side did he abuse, on neither did he laud or even justify. The side which he adopted seldom enjoyed approbation or even vindication, and only in apology did he distinguish it from that to which he was inimical. From this peculiarity, the opinions to which he leaned acquired strength from the suffrage of one so apparently impartial and unconcerned. Notwithstanding the prejudices generally attributed however to Hume as an historian, we cannot set him down as an enemy to liberty. No man had grander views of the power of the human mind, and of the higher majesty of intellect, when compared with the external attributes of rank; and the writings of a republican could not exceed in depicting this feeling, the picture he has drawn of the parliament of Charles the First, and of the striking circumstances of the king's condemnation. The instances in which he has shown himself to be inconsistent, may, perhaps, be more attributed to his habits, than to his opinions. His indolent benevolence prompted a sympathy with the oppressed, and he felt a reluctance to justify those who assumed the aspect of active assailants, from whatever cause; while in matters of religion, viewing all persuasions in much the same aspect, unprejudiced himself, he felt a contempt for those who indulged in prejudice, and was more inclined to censure than to vindicate those who acted from religious impulse. With all his partialities, however, let those who study the character of the author while they read his history recollect, that he never made literature bow to rank, that he never flattered a great man to obtain a favour, and that, though long poor, he was always independent. Of the seeming contradiction between his life and opinions, we quote the following applicable remarks from the Edinburgh Review:

"Few things seem more unaccountable, and indeed absurd, than that Hume should have taken part with high church and high monarchy men. The persecutions which he suffered in his youth from the presbyterians, may, perhaps, have influenced his ecclesiastical partialities. But that he should have sided with the Tudors and the Stuarts against the people, seems quite inconsistent with all the great traits of his character. His unrivaled sagacity must have looked with contempt on the preposterous arguments by which the *jus divinum* was maintained. His natural benevolence must have suggested the cruelty of subjecting the enjoyments of thousands to the caprice of one unfeeling individual: and his own practical independence in private life, might have taught him the value of those feelings which he has so mischievously derided. Mr Fox seems to have been struck with some surprise at this strange trait in the character of our philosopher. In a letter to Mr Laing he says, 'He was an excellent man, and of great powers of mind; but his partiality to kings and princes is intolerable. Nay, it is, in my opinion, quite ridiculous: and is more like the foolish admiration which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.'"

It would be a vain task to enumerate the controversial attacks on Hume's

History of England. Dr Hurd in his *Dialogues on the English Constitution* stoutly combated his opinions. Miller brought the force of his strongly thinking mind to a consideration of the subject at great length, but he assumed too much the aspect of a special pleader. Dr Birch and Dr Towers entered on minute examinations of particular portions of the narrative, and the late major Cartwright, with more fancy than reason, almost caricatured the opinions of those who considered that Hume had designedly painted the government of the Tudors in arbitrary colours, to relieve that of the Stuarts. Mr Laing appeared as the champion of the Scottish patriots, and Dr M'Crie as the vindicator of the presbyterians; and within these few past years, two elaborate works have fully examined the statements and representations of Hume,—the *British Empire* of Mr Brodie, and the extremely impartial *Constitutional History* of Hallam.

In the interval betwixt the publication of the first and second volumes of the *History*, Hume produced the "*Natural History of Religion*." This production is one of those which Warburton delighted to honour. In a pamphlet which Hume attributed to Hurd, he thus politely notices it: "The few excepted out of the whole race of mankind are, we see, our philosopher and his gang, with their pedlars' ware of matter and motion, who penetrate by their disquisitions into the secret structure of vegetable and animal bodies, to extract, like the naturalists in *Gulliver*, sunbeams out of cucumbers; just as wise a project as this of raising religion out of the intrigues of matter and motion. We see what the man would be at, through all his disguises, and no doubt, he would be much mortified if we did not; though the discovery we make, is only this, that, of all the slanders against revelation, this before us is the truest, the dirtiest, and the most worn in the drudgery of free-thinking, not but it may pass with his friends, and they have my free leave to make their best of it. What I quote it for, is only to show the rancour of heart which possesses this unhappy man, and which could induce him to employ an insinuation against the Christian and the Jewish religions; not only of no weight in itself, but of none, I will venture to say, even in his own opinion."<sup>19</sup> Hume says, he "found by Warburton's railing" that his "books were beginning to be esteemed in good company;" and of the particular attention which the prelate bestowed on the sceptic, such specimens as the following are to be found in the correspondence of the former: "I am strongly tempted too, to have a stroke at Hume in parting. He is the author of a little book, called *Philosophical Essays*: in one of which he argues against the hope of a God, and in another (very needlessly you will say,) against the possibility of miracles. He has crowned the liberty of the press, and yet he has a considerable post under government. I have a great mind to do justice on his arguments against miracles, which I think might be done in few words. But does he deserve notice? Is he known among you? Pray answer me these questions; for if his own weight keeps him down, I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory."<sup>20</sup>

Of the very different manner in which he esteemed a calm, and a scurrilous critic, we have happily been able to obtain an instance, in a copy of a curious letter of Hume, which, although the envelope is unfortunately lost, and the whole is somewhat mutilated, we can perceive from the circumstances, to have been addressed to Dr John Stewart, author of an *Essay on the Laws of Motion*. It affords a singular instance of the calm and forgiving spirit of the philosopher: "I am so great a lover of peace, that I am resolved to drop this matter altogether, and not to insert a syllable in the preface, which can have a reference to your essay. The truth is, I could take no revenge but such a one as would have

<sup>19</sup> Warburton's works, vii. 851, 868.

<sup>20</sup> Letters from a late Rev. Prelate, to one of his Friends, 1808, p. 11.

been a great deal too cruel, and much exceeding the offence ; for though most authors think, that a contemptuous manner of treating their writings is but slightly revenged by hurting the personal character and the honour of their antagonists, I am very far from being of that opinion. Besides, as I am as certain as I can be of any thing, (and I am not such a sceptic as you may perhaps imagine,) that your inserting such remarkable alterations in the printed copy proceeded entirely from precipitancy and passion, not from any formed intention of deceiving the society, I would not take advantage of such an incident, to throw a slur on a man of merit, whom I esteem though I might have reason to complain of him. When I am abused by such a fellow as Warburton, whom I neither know nor care for, I can laugh at him. But if Dr Stewart approaches any way towards the same style of writing, I own it vexes me ; because I conclude that some unguarded circumstances of my conduct, though contrary to my intention had given occasion to it. As to your situation with regard to lord Kames, I am not so good a judge. I only know, that you had so much the better of the argument that you ought upon that account to have been more reserved in your expressions. All raillery ought to be avoided in philosophical argument, both because (it is) unphilosophical, and because it cannot but be offensive, let it be ever so gentle. What then must we think with regard to so many insinuations of irreligion, to which lord Kames's paper gave not the least occasion ? This spirit of the inquisitor is, in you, the effect of passion, and what a cool moment would easily correct. But when it predominates in the character, what ravages has it committed on reason, virtue, truth, sobriety, and every thing that is valuable among mankind !"—We may at this period of his life consider Hume as having reached the age when the mind has entirely ceased to bend to circumstances, and cannot be made to alter its habits. Speaking of him in this advanced period of his life, an author signing himself G. N. and detailing some anecdotes of Hume, with whom he says he was acquainted, states (in the *Scots Magazine*), that " his great views of being singular, and a vanity to show himself superior to most people, led him to advance many axioms that were dissonant to the opinions of others, and led him into sceptical doctrines, only to show how minute and puzzling they were to other folk ; in so far, that I have often seen him (in various companies, according as he saw some enthusiastic person there), combat either their religious or political principles ; nay, after he had struck them dumb, take up the argument on their side, with equal good humour, wit, and jocoseness, all to show his pre-eminency." The same person mentions his social feelings, and the natural disposition of his temper to flow with the current of whatever society he was in ; and that while he never gambled he had a natural liking to whist playing, and was so accomplished a player as to be the subject of a shameless proposal on the part of a needy man of rank, for bettering their mutual fortunes, which it need not be said was repelled.

But the late lamented Henry M'Kenzie, who has attempted to embody the character of the sceptic in the beautiful fiction of *La Roche*, has drawn, from his intimate knowledge of character, and his great acquaintance with the philosopher, a more pleasing picture. His words are, " The unfortunate nature of his opinions with regard to the theoretical principles of moral and religious truth, never influenced his regard for men who held very opposite sentiments on those subjects, which he never, like some vain shallow sceptics, introduced into social discourse ; on the contrary, when at any time the conversation tended that way, he was desirous rather of avoiding any serious discussion on matters which he wished to confine to the graver and less dangerous consideration of cool philosophy. He had, it might be said, in the language which the Grecian historian applies to an illustrious Roman, two minds ; one which indulged in the meta-

physical scepticism which his genius could invent, but which it could not always disentangle; another, simple, natural, and playful, which made his conversation delightful to his friends, and even frequently conciliated men whose principles of belief his philosophical doubts, if they had not power to shake, had grieved and offended. During the latter period of his life I was frequently in his company amidst persons of genuine piety, and I never heard him venture a remark at which such men, or ladies—still more susceptible than men—could take offence. His good nature and benevolence prevented such an injury to his hearers; it was unfortunate that he often forgot what injury some of his writings might do to his readers.”<sup>21</sup>

Hume was now a man of a very full habit, and somewhat given to indolence in all occupations but that of literature. An account of himself, in a letter to his relation Mrs Dysart may amuse from its calm pleasantry, and good humour: “My compliments to his solicitorship. Unfortunately I have not a horse at present to carry my fat carcase, to pay its respects to his superior obesity. But if he finds travelling requisite either for his health or the captain’s, we shall be glad to entertain him here as long as we can do it at another’s expense, in hopes that we shall soon be able to do it at our own. Pray, tell the solicitor that I have been reading lately, in an old author called Strabo, that in some cities of ancient Gaul, there was a fixed legal standard established for corpulency, and that the senate kept a measure, beyond which, if any belly presumed to increase, the proprietor of that belly was obliged to pay a fine to the public, proportionable to its rotundity. Ill would it fare with his worship and I (me), if such a law should pass our parliament, for I am afraid we are already got beyond the statute. I wonder, indeed, no harpy of the treasury has ever thought of this method of raising money. ‘Taxes on luxury are always most approved of, and no one will say that the carrying about a portly belly is of any use or necessity. ’Tis a mere superfluous ornament, and is a proof too, that its proprietor enjoys greater plenty than he puts to a good use; and, therefore, ’tis fit to reduce him to a level with his fellow subjects, by taxes and impositions. As the lean people are the most active, unquiet, and ambitious, they every where govern the world, and may certainly oppress their antagonists whenever they please. Heaven forbid that whig and tory should ever be abolished, for then the nation might be split into fat and lean, and our faction I am afraid would be in a piteous taking. The only comfort is, if they oppress us very much we should at last change sides with them. Besides, who knows if a tax were imposed on fatness, but some jealous divine might pretend that the church was in danger. I cannot but bless the memory of Julius Cæsar, for the great esteem he expressed for fat men, and his aversion to lean ones. All the world allows that the emperor was the greatest genius that ever was, and the greatest judge of mankind.”

In the year 1756, the philosophical calm of Hume appeared in danger of being disturbed by the fulminations of the church. The outcry against his doubting philosophy became loud, scepticism began to be looked on as synonymous with infidelity, and some of the fiercer spirits endeavoured to urge on the church to invade the sacred precincts of freedom of opinion. The discussion of the subject commenced before the committee of overtures on the 27th of May, and a long debate ensued, in which some were pleased to maintain, that Hume, not being a Christian, was not a fit person to be judged by the venerable court. For a more full narrative of those proceedings, we refer to the life of Henry Home of Kames, who was subjected to the same attempt at persecution. In an analysis of the works of the two authors, published during the session of the assembly, and circulated among the members, the respectable author, with a

<sup>21</sup> M’Kenzie’s Life of Home, p. 20.

laudable anxiety to find an enemy to the religion he professed, laid down the following, as propositions which he would be enabled to prove were the avowed opinions of Mr Hume :—" 1st, All distinction between virtue and vice is merely imaginary—2nd, Justice has no foundation farther than it contributes to public advantage—3d, Adultery is very lawful, but sometimes not expedient—4th, Religion and its ministers are prejudicial to mankind, and will always be found either to run into the heights of superstition or enthusiasm—5th, Christianity has no evidence of its being a divine revelation—6th, Of all the modes of Christianity, popery is the best, and the reformation from thence was only the work of madmen and enthusiasts." The overture was rejected by the committee, and the indefatigable vindicators of religion brought the matter under a different shape before the presbytery of Edinburgh, but that body very properly decided on several grounds, among which, not the least applicable was, "to prevent their entering further into so abstruse and metaphysical a subject," that it "would be more for the purposes of edification to dismiss the process."

In 1759, appeared Dr Robertson's History of Scotland, and the similarity of the subjects in which he and Hume were engaged, produced an interchange of information, and a lasting friendship, honourable to both these great men. Hume was singularly destitute of literary jealousy; and of the unaffected welcome which he gave to a work treading on his own peculiar path, we could give many instances, did our limits permit. He never withheld a helping hand to any author who might be considered his rival, and, excepting in one instance, never peevishly mentioned a living literary author in his works. The instance we allude to, is a remark on Mr Tytler's vindication of queen Mary, and referring the reader to a copy of it below,<sup>22</sup> it is right to remark, that it seems more dictated by contempt of the arguments, than spleen towards the person of the author.

Any account of the literary society in which Hume spent his hours of leisure and conviviality, would involve us in a complete literary history of Scotland during that period, unsuitable to a biographical dictionary. With all the eminent men of that illustrious period of Scottish literature, he was eminently acquainted; as a philosopher, and as a man of dignified and respected intellect, he stood at the head of the list of great names; but in the less calm employments in which literary men of all periods occupy themselves, he was somewhat shunned, as a person too lukewarm, indolent, and good-humoured, to support literary warfare. An amusing specimen of his character in this respect, is mentioned by M'Kenzie in his life of Hume. When two numbers of a periodical work, entitled "The Edinburgh Review," were published in 1755, the bosom friends of Hume, who were the conductors, concealed it from him, because, "I have heard," says M'Kenzie, "that they were afraid both of his extreme good nature, and his extreme artlessness; that, from the one, their criticisms would have been weakened, or suppressed, and, from the other, their secret discovered;" and it was not till Hume had repeated his astonishment that persons in Scotland beyond the

<sup>22</sup> "But there is a person that has written an Inquiry, historical and critical, into the evidence against Mary, queen of Scots; and has attempted to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a single passage of the narrative, in which Mary is said simply to refuse answering; and then a single passage from Goodall, in which she boasts simply that she will answer; and he very civilly, and almost directly, calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole Inquiry, from beginning to end, is composed of such scandalous articles; and from this instance, the reader may judge of the candour, fair dealing, veracity, and good manners of the inquirer. There are, indeed, three events in our history, which may be regarded as touchstones of party-men. An English whig, who asserts the reality of the popish plot; an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre in 1641; and a Scottish Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason and must be left to their prejudices."

sphere of the literary circle of Edinburgh, could have produced so able a work, that he was made acquainted with the secret. In whimsical revenge of the want of confidence displayed by his friends, Hume gravely maintained himself to be the author of a humorous work of Adam Ferguson, "The History of Sister Peg," and penned a letter to the publisher, which any person who might peruse it without knowing the circumstances, could not fail to consider a sincere acknowledgment. Hume was a member of the Philosophical Society, which afterwards merged into the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and acted as joint secretary along with Dr Munro junior. He was also a member of the illustrious Poker Club, and not an uncongenial one, so long as the members held their unobtrusive discussion in a tavern, over a small quantity of claret; but when this method of managing matters was abolished, and the institution merged into the more consequential denomination of "The Select Society," amidst the exertions of many eloquent and distinguished men, he was only remarkable, along with his friend Adam Smith, for having never opened his mouth.

In 1761, Mr Hume published the two remaining volumes of the History of England, treating of the period previous to the accession of the house of Tudor: he tells us that it was received with "tolerable, and but tolerable success." Whitaker, Hallam, Turner, and others, have examined their respective portions of this period of history with care, and pointed out the inaccuracies of Hume; but the subject did not possess so much political interest as the later periods, and general readers have not been much disposed to discuss the question of his general accuracy. Men such as the first name we have mentioned have attacked him with peevishness on local and obscure matters of antiquarian research, which a historian can hardly be blamed for neglecting: others, however, who seem well-informed, have found serious objections to his accuracy. In an article on the Saxon Chronicle, which appeared in the Retrospective Review, by an apparently well-informed writer, he is charged in these terms: "It would be perfectly startling to popular credulity, should all the instances be quoted in which the text of Hume, in the remoter periods more especially, is at the most positive variance with the authorities he pretends to rest upon. In a series of historical inquiries which the writer of this article had some years since particular occasion to superintend, aberrations of this kind were so frequently detected, that it became necessary to lay it down as a rule never to admit a quotation from that popular historian, when the authorities he pretends to refer to were not accessible for the purpose of previous comparison and confirmation."

Hume, now pretty far advanced in life, had formed the resolution of ending his days in literary retirement in his own country, when in 1763, he was solicited by the earl of Hertford to attend him on his embassy to Paris, and after having declined, on a second invitation he accepted the situation. In the full blaze of a wide-spread reputation, the philosopher was now surrounded by a new world of literary rivals, imitators, and admirers, and he received from a circle of society ever searching for what was new, brilliant, and striking, numberless marks of distinction highly flattering to his literary pride, though not unmingled with affectation. In some very amusing letters to his friends written during this period, he shows, that if he was weak enough to feel vain of these distinctions, he had sincerity enough to say so.

The fashionable people of Paris, and especially the ladies, practised on the patient and good-humoured philosopher every torture which their extreme desire to render him and themselves distinguished could dictate. "From what has been already said of him," says lord Charlemont, "it is apparent that his conversation to strangers, and particularly to Frenchmen, could be little delightful, and still more particularly one would suppose, to French women; and



yet no lady's toilette was complete without Hume's attendance. At the opera, his broad unmeaning face was usually seen *entre deux jolis minois*. The ladies in France gave the ton, and the ton was deism." Madame D'Epinay, who terms him "Grand et gros historiographe d'Angleterre," mentions that it was the will of one of his entertainers that he should act the part of a sultan, endeavouring to secure by his eloquence the affection of two beautiful female slaves. The philosopher was accordingly whiskered, turbaned, and blackened, and placed on a sofa betwixt two of the most celebrated beauties of Paris. According to the instructions he had received, he bent his knees, and struck his breast, (or as Madame has it, "le ventre,") but his tongue could not be brought to assist his actions further than by uttering "Eh bien! mes demoiselles—Eh bien! vous voila donc—Eh bien! vous voila—vous voila ici?" exclamations which he repeated until he had exhausted the patience of those he was expected to entertain.<sup>23</sup>

In 1765, lord Hertford being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, Mr Hume, according to his expectation, was appointed secretary to the embassy, and he officiated as chargé d'affaires, until the arrival of the duke of Richmond. Hume; who had a singular antipathy to England, and who had previously enjoyed himself only in the midst of his social literary circle at Edinburgh, insensibly acquired a relish for the good-humoured politeness and the gayety of the French, and on his return home in 1766, he left behind him a number of regretted friends, among whom were two celebrated females, the marchioness De Barbantane and the countess De Boufflers, who conducted a friendly, and even extremely intimate correspondence with the philosopher to the day of his death.<sup>24</sup>

In the order of time we come now to the discussion of an incident connected with his residence on the continent, which forms a very remarkable epoch in the life of Hume,—we mean his controversy with Rousseau. Before making any statements, however, it is right to warn our readers, that an account of this memorable transaction, sufficient to give him an acquaintance with all its peculiarities, would exceed our limits, which permit of but a slight glance at the incidents, and that indeed it is quite impossible to form a conception of the grotesqueness of some of the incidents, and the peculiarities of character so vividly displayed, without a perusal of the original documents, which are easily accessible, and will well repay the trouble of perusal.

When in 1762, the parliament of Paris issued an *arret* against Rousseau, on account of his opinions, Hume was applied to by a friend in Paris to discover for him a retreat in England; Hume willingly undertook a task so congenial, but it did not suit the celebrated exile at that time to take advantage of his offer. Rousseau, taking every opportunity to complain of the misfortunes he suffered, the transaction with Hume was again set on foot at the instigation of the marchioness De Verdlin; Hume wrote to Rousseau, offering his services, and the latter returned him an answer overflowing with extravagant gratitude. Rousseau had, it appeared, discovered an ingenious method of making himself interesting: he pretended extreme poverty, and had offers of assistance repeatedly made him, which he publicly and disdainfully refused, while he had in reality as Hume afterwards discovered, resources sufficient to provide for his support. In pure simplicity, Hume formed several designs for imposing on Rousseau's ignorance of the world, and establishing him comfortably in life, without allowing him to know that he was assisted by others; and the plan finally concluded and acted on was, that he should be comfortably boarded in the mansion of Mr

<sup>23</sup> *Memoirs et Correspondance de Madame D'Epinay*, iii. 284.

<sup>24</sup> *General Correspondence of David Hume*, 4to, 1823, *passim*.

Davenport, at Wooton, in the county of Derby, a gentleman who kindly undertook to lull the suspicions of the irritable philosopher by accepting of a remuneration amounting to £30 a year. Rousseau arrived in London, and appearing in public in his Armenian dress, excited much notice, both from the public in general, and from literary men. Hume, by his interest with the government obtained for him a pension of £100 a year, which it suited those in authority to wish should be kept secret. Rousseau expressed much satisfaction at this condition, but he afterwards declined the grant, hinting at the secrecy as an impediment to his acceptance of it; his zealous friend procured the removal of this impediment, and the pension was again offered, but its publicity afforded a far more gratifying opportunity of refusal. Immediately after he had retired to Wooton, with his housekeeper and his dog, nothing occurred apparently to infringe his amicable intercourse with Hume; but that individual was little aware of the storm in preparation. The foreign philosopher began to discover the interest of his first appearance in Britain subsiding. He was not in a place where he could be followed by crowds of wondering admirers, the press was lukewarm and regardless, and sometimes ventured to bestow on him a sneer, and above all no one sought to persecute him. The feelings which these displeasing circumstances occasioned, appear to have been roused to sudden action by a sarcastic letter in the name of the king of Prussia, of which Rousseau presumed D'Alembert to have been the author, but which was claimed by Horace Walpole, and which made the circle of the European journals; and by an anonymous critique of a somewhat slighting nature, which had issued from a British magazine, but which appears not to have been remarked or much known at the period. Of these two productions it pleased Rousseau to presume David Hume the instigator, and he immediately framed in his mind the idea of a black project for his ruin, countenanced and devised by his benefactor under the mask of friendship. Rousseau then wrote a fierce letter to Hume, charging him in somewhat vague terms with a number of horrible designs, and in the general manner of those who bring accusations of unutterable things, referring him to his own guilty breast for a more full explanation. Hume naturally requested a farther explanation of the meaning of this ominous epistle, and he received in answer a narrative which occupies forty printed pages. It were vain to enumerate the subjects of complaint in this celebrated document. There was an accusation of terrible affectation on the part of Hume, in getting a portrait of the unfortunate exile engraved; he had insulted him by procuring dinners to be sent to his lodgings in London, (a circumstance which Hume accounted for on the ground of there having been no convenient chop house in the neighbourhood.) He had also flattered him (an attention which Hume maintains was not unacceptable at the period,) with a deep laid malignity. Hume had also formed a plan of opening all his letters, and examining his correspondence, (an accusation which Hume denied.) Hume was intimate with the son of an individual who entertained towards Rousseau a mortal hatred. A narrative of the treatment which Rousseau had met with at Neufchatel, and which he wished to have published in England, was delayed at the press; but we shall give in Rousseau's own words (as translated) the most deadly article of the charge, promising, that the circumstances were occasioned by Hume's having attempted to impose on him a coach hired and payed for, as a retour vehicle:—"As we were sitting one evening, after supper, silently by the fire-side, I caught his eye intently fixed on mine, as indeed happened very often; and that in a manner of which it is very difficult to give an idea. At that time he gave me a steadfast, piercing look, mixed with a sneer, which greatly disturbed me. To get rid of the embarrassment I lay under, I endeavoured to look full at him in my

turn; but in fixing my eyes against his, I felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged soon to turn them away. The speech and physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man; but where, great God! did this good man borrow those eyes he fixes so sternly and unaccountably on those of his friends? The impression of this look remained with me, and gave me much uneasiness. My trouble increased even to a degree of fainting; and if I had not been relieved by an effusion of tears I had been suffocated. Presently after this I was seized with the most violent remorse; I even despised myself; till at length, in a transport, which I still remember with delight, I sprang on his neck, embraced him eagerly, while almost choked with sobbing, and bathed in tears, I cried out in broken accents, No, no, David Hume cannot be treacherous. I be he not the best of men, he must be the basest of mankind. David Hume politely returned my embraces, and, gently tapping me on the back, repeated several times, in a good-natured and easy tone, Why, what, my dear sir! nay, my dear sir! Oh, my dear sir! He said nothing more. I felt my heart yearn within me. We went to bed; and I set out the next day for the country."

The charge terminates with accusing Hume of wilful blindness, in not being aware, from the neglect with which Rousseau treated him, that the blackness of his heart had been discovered. Soon after the controversy was terminated, a ludicrous account of its amusing circumstances was given to the public; the extreme wit, and humorous pungency of which will excuse our insertion of it, while we may also mention, that with its air of raillery, it gives an extremely correct abstract of the charge of Rousseau. It is worthy of remark, that the terms made use of show the author to have been colloquially acquainted with the technicalities of *Scottish* law, although it is not likely that a professional person would have introduced terms applicable only to civil transactions, into the model of a criminal indictment. We have found this production in the *Scots Magazine*. Mr Ritchie says it appeared in the *St James's Chronicle*: in which it may have been first published, we do not know.

HEADS OF AN INDICTMENT LAID BY J. J. ROUSSEAU, PHILOSOPHER, AGAINST  
D. HUME, Esq.

1. That the said David Hume, to the great scandal of philosophy, and not having the fitness of things before his eyes, did concert a plan with Messrs Froachin, Voltaire, and D'Alembert, to ruin the said J. J. Rousseau for ever by bringing him over to England, and there settling him to his heart's content.

2. That the said David Hume did, with a malicious and traitorous intent, procure, or cause to be procured, by himself or somebody else, one pension of the yearly value of £100, or thereabouts, to be paid to the said J. J. Rousseau, on account of his being a philosopher, either privately or publicly, as to him the said J. J. Rousseau should seem meet.

3. That the said David Hume did, one night after he left Paris, put the said J. J. Rousseau in bodily fear, by talking in his sleep; although the said J. J. Rousseau doth not know whether the said David Hume was really asleep, or whether he shammed Abraham, or what he meant.

4. That, at another time, as the said David Hume and the said J. J. Rousseau were sitting opposite each other by the fire-side in London, he the said David Hume did look at him, the said J. J. Rousseau, in a manner of which it is difficult to give any idea; that he the said J. J. Rousseau, to get rid of the embarrassment he was under, endeavoured to look full at him, the said David Hume, in return, to try if he could not stare him out of countenance; but in fixing his eyes against his, the said David Hume's, he felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged to turn them away, insomuch that the said J. J. Rousseau doth

in his heart think and believe, as much as he believes anything, that he the said David Hume is a certain composition of a white-witch and a rattle-snake.

5. That the said David Hume on the same evening, after politely returning the embraces of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, and gently tapping him on the back, did repeat several times, in a good-natured, easy tone, the words, "Why, what, my dear sir! Nay, my dear sir! Oh my dear sir!"—From whence the said J. J. Rousseau doth conclude, as he thinks upon solid and sufficient grounds, that he the said David Hume is a traitor; albeit he, the said J. J. Rousseau doth acknowledge, that the physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man, all but those terrible eyes of his, which he must have borrowed; but he the said J. J. Rousseau vows to God he cannot conceive from whom or what.

6. That the said David Hume hath more inquisitiveness about him than becometh a philosopher, and did never let slip an opportunity of being alone with the governante of him the said J. J. Rousseau.

7. That the said David Hume did most atrociously and flagitiously put him the said J. J. Rousseau, philosopher, into a passion; as knowing that then he would be guilty of a number of absurdities.

8. That the said David Hume must have published Mr Walpole's letter in the newspapers, because, at that time, there was neither man, woman, nor child in the island of Great Britain, but the said David Hume, the said J. J. Rousseau, and the printers of the several newspapers aforesaid.

9. That somebody in a certain magazine, and somebody else in a certain newspaper, said something against him the said John James Rousseau, which he, the said J. J. Rousseau, is persuaded, for the reason above mentioned, could be nobody but the said David Hume.

10. That the said J. J. Rousseau knows, that he, the said David Hume, did open and peruse the letters of him the said J. J. Rousseau, because he one day saw the said David Hume go out of the room after his own servant, who had at that time a letter of the said J. J. Rousseau's in his hands; which must have been in order to take it from the servant, open it, and read the contents.

11. That the said David Hume did, at the instigation of the devil, in a most wicked and unnatural manner, send, or cause to be sent, to the lodgings of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, one dish of beef steaks, thereby meaning to insinuate, that he the said J. J. Rousseau was a beggar, and came over to England to ask alms: whereas, be it known to all men by these presents, that he, the said John James Rousseau, brought with him the means of sustenance, and did not come with an empty purse; as he doubts not but he can live upon his labours, with the assistance of his friends; and in short can do better without the said David Hume than with him.

12. That besides all these facts put together, the said J. J. Rousseau did not like a certain appearance of things on the whole.

Rousseau, with his accustomed activity on such occasions, loudly repeated his complaints to the world, and filled the ears of his friends with the villany of his seeming benefactor. The method which Hume felt himself compelled to adopt for his own justification was one which proved a severe punishment to his opponent; he published the correspondence, with a few explanatory observations, and was ever afterwards silent on the subject. Some have thought that he ought to have remained silent from the commencement, and that such was his wish we have ample proof from his correspondence at that period, but to have continued so in the face of the declarations of his enemy, he must have been more than human; and the danger which his fame incurred from the acts of a man who had the means of making what he said respected, will at least *justify* him.

Hume had returned to Edinburgh with the renewed intention of there spending his days in retirement, and in the affluence which his frugality, perseverance, genius, and good conduct had acquired for him; but in 1765, at the solicitation of general Conway, he acted for that gentleman as an under-secretary of state. It is probable that he did not make a better under-secretary than most men of equally diligent habits might have done, and nothing occurs worthy of notice during his tenure of that office, which he resigned in January, 1768, when general Conway resigned his secretaryship.

We have nothing to record from this period till we come to the closing scene of the philosopher's life. In the spring of 1775, he was struck with a disorder of the bowels, which he soon became aware brought with it the sure prognostication of a speedy end. "I now," he says "reckon upon a speedy dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my disorder; and what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great decline of my person, never suffered a moment's abatement of my spirits, inasmuch, that were I to name the period of my life, which I should most choose to pass over again, I might be tempted to point to this latter period. I possess the same ardour as ever in study, and the same gayety in company. I consider, besides, that a man of sixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities, and though I see many symptoms of my literary reputation breaking out at last with additional lustre, I know that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at present."

The entreaties of his friends prevailed on Hume to make a last effort to regain his health, by drinking the Bath waters, and he left Edinburgh for that purpose in the month of April, after having prepared his will, and written the memoir of himself, so often referred to. As he passed through Morpeth, he met his affectionate friends John Home the poet and Adam Smith, who had come from London for the purpose of attending him on his journey, and who would have passed him had they not seen his servant standing at the inn door. The meeting of these friends must have been melancholy, for they were strongly attached to each other, and the intimacy betwixt the philosopher and the enthusiastic poet Home, seemed to have been strengthened by the striking contrast of their temperaments. The intercourse of the friends on their journey was supported by Hume with cheerfulness, and even with gayety; and he never morosely alluded to his prospects of dissolution. On one occasion, when Home was officiously preparing his pistols, (for he was usually inspired with a military enthusiasm,) Hume said to him, "you shall have your humour, John, and fight with as many highwaymen as you please, for I have too little of life left to be an object worth saving." Of this journey a journal was found among the papers of Home, in the handwriting of the poet, which has been fortunately given to the world by Mr McKenzie. Regretting that we cannot quote the whole of this interesting document, we give a characteristic extract.

*"Newcastle, Wednesday, 24th Aprile.*

"Mr Hume not quite so well in the morning; says, that he had set out merely to please his friends; that he would go on to please them; that Ferguson and Andrew Stuart, (about whom we had been talking) were answerable for shortening his life one week a piece; for, says he, you will allow Xenophon to be good authority; and he lays it down, that suppose a man is dying, nobody has a right to kill him. He set out in this vein, and continued all the stage in this cheerful and talking humour. It was a fine day, and we went on to Durham—from that to Darlington, where we passed the night.

"In the evening Mr Hume thinks himself more easy and light than he has

been any time for three months. In the course of our conversation we touched upon the national affairs. He still maintains, that the national debt must be the ruin of Britain, and laments that the two most civilized nations, the British and French, should be on the decline; and the barbarians, the Goths and Vandals of Germany and Russia, should be rising in power and renown. The French king, he says, has ruined the state by recalling the parliaments. Mr Hume thinks that there is only one man in France fit to be minister, (the archbishop of Toulouse,) of the family of Brienne. He told me some curious anecdotes with regard to this prelate, that he composed and corrected without writing; that Mr Hume had heard him repeat an elegant oration of an hour and a quarter in length, which he had never written. Mr Hume talking with the princess Beauvais about French policy, said that he knew but one man in France capable of restoring its greatness; the lady said she knew one too, and wished to hear if it was the same; they accordingly named each their man, and it was this prelate."

The journey had the effect of partly alleviating Mr Hume's disorder, but it returned with renewed virulence. While his strength permitted such an attempt, he called a meeting of his literary friends to partake with him of a farewell dinner. The invitation sent to Dr Blair is extant, and is in these terms: "Mr John Hume, *alias* Home, *alias* the late lord conservator, *alias* the late minister of the gospel at Athelstaneford, has calculated matters so as to arrive infallibly with his friend in St David's Street, on Wednesday evening. He has asked several of Dr Blair's friends to dine with him there on Thursday, being the 4th of July, and begs the favour of the doctor to make one of the number." Subjoined to the card there is this note, in Dr Blair's hand writing, "*Mem.* This the last note received from David Hume. He died on the 25th of August, 1776." This mournful festival, in honour as it were of the departure of the most esteemed and illustrious member of their brilliant circle, was attended by lord Elibank, Adam Smith, Dr Blair, Dr Black, professor Ferguson, and John Home. On Sunday the 26th August, 1776, Mr Hume expired. Of the manner of his death, after the beautiful picture which has been drawn of the event by his friend Adam Smith, we need not enlarge. The calmness of his last moments, unexpected by many, was in every one's mouth at the period, and it is still well known. He was buried on a point of rock overhanging the old town of Edinburgh, now surrounded by buildings, but then bare and wild—the spot he had himself chosen for the purpose. A conflict betwixt a vague horror at his imputed opinions, and respect for the individual who had passed among them a life so irreproachable, created a sensation among the populace of Edinburgh, and a crowd of people attended the body to its grave, which for some time was an object of curiosity. According to his request, Hume's Dialogues on Natural Religion were published after his death, a beautifully classic piece of composition, bringing us back to the days of Cicero. It treats of many of the speculations propounded in his other works.

HUME, PATRICK, first earl of Marchmont, a distinguished patriot and statesman, was born, January 13th, 1641. His original place in society was that of the laird of Polwarth, in Berwickshire, being the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, the representative of an old baronial family, by Christian Hamilton, daughter of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick. The subject of our memoir succeeded his father in 1648, while as yet a mere child; and was accordingly indebted to his excellent mother for the better part of his early education. He appears to have been, by her, brought up in the strictest tenets of the presbyterian religion, which flourished, without any constraint upon its private exercise, during all his early years, till it was discountenanced by govern-

ment after the Restoration. Sir Patrick, however, was not only an admirer of the form of worship enjoined by that religious system, but a zealous maintainer of its pretensions to a divine right, as the only true church of Christ; and this, it is said, was what first inspired him with the feelings of a patriot. Having been sent to parliament in 1665, as representative of the county of Berwick, he soon distinguished himself by the opposition which he gave, along with the duke of Hamilton and others, to the headlong measures of the government. In 1673, the king sent a letter to parliament desiring a levy of soldiers and money to support them, and the duke of Lauderdale moved that it be referred to the lords of the articles, who were always at the beck of government. This proposal, though strictly in accordance with the custom of the Scottish parliament, was opposed by the duke of Hamilton, who asserted that the royal wishes ought to be considered by the whole assembled representatives of the nation. On Sir Patrick Hume expressing his concurrence with the duke, he was openly pointed out to parliament by Lauderdale, as a dangerous person. Hereupon, Sir Patrick said, "he hoped this was a free parliament, and it concerned all the members to be free in what concerned the nation." In the ensuing year, he was one of those who went with the duke of Hamilton to lay the grievances of the nation before the king, whose delusive answer to their application is well known. It was not possible that a person who maintained so free a spirit in such an age could long escape trouble. In 1675, having remonstrated against the measure for establishing garrisons to keep down the people, he was committed by the privy council to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as "a factious person, and one who had done that which might usher in confusion." After suffering confinement for six months in Stirling castle, he was liberated through the intercession of friends, but not long after was again confined, and altogether suffered imprisonment for about two years. The order for his liberation, dated 17th April, 1679, states that "he had been imprisoned for reasons known to his majesty, and tending to secure the public peace;" and adds, "the occasions of suspicion and public jealousy being over, he is ordered to be liberate." To continue our memoir in the words of Mr George Crawford,<sup>1</sup> who had received information from Sir Patrick's own mouth, "Finding after this that the ministers of state were most earnestly set on his destruction, and that he could not live in security at home, he went to England, and entered into a strict friendship with the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Shaftesbury, and the lord Russel, who was his near relation. With them he often met, and had many conferences on the state of Scotland, and what might be done there to secure the kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, in the event of a popish successor. But, as his lordship protested to me, there never passed among them the least intimation of any design against the king's life, or the duke of York's; that was what they all had an abhorrence of. But he said, he thought it was lawful for subjects, being under such pressures, to try how they might be relieved from them; and their design never went further."

Notwithstanding the pure intentions of this little band of patriots, the government, as is well known, was able to fasten upon them the charge of having conspired the deaths of the king and his brother; and to this infamous accusation, lord Russell fell a victim in England, and Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, in Scotland. It was on the 24th of December, 1684, that the latter individual suffered; before that time, Sir Patrick Hume, though conscious of innocence, had gone into hiding, being justified in that step by a degree of personal infirmity, which unfitted him for enduring imprisonment. The place selected for his concealment was the sepulchral vault of his family, underneath the parish

<sup>1</sup> Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown, and of the State in Scotland.

church of Polwarth, about two miles from Redbraes castle, the house in which he generally resided. Here he lived for many weeks of the autumn of 1684, without fire and hardly any light, and surrounded by the ghastly objects which usually furnish forth such a scene. He was enabled, however, by the firmness of his own mind, and the affections of his amiable family, to suffer this dreary self-imprisonment without shrinking. No one knew of his concealment but his family, and one "Jamie Winter," a carpenter, of whose fidelity they had good reason to be assured. Having been provided with a bed through the aid of this humble friend, Sir Patrick depended for food and other necessities upon the heroic devotedness of his daughter Grizel, who, though only twelve years of age, nightly visited this dismal scene, without manifesting the least agitation either on account of real or imaginary dangers. Supported by such means, Sir Patrick never lost his cheerfulness of temper, but, on the contrary, could laugh heartily at any little incident detailed to him by his daughter. The noble child had no other means of obtaining his food, except by secreting part of what she had upon her own plate at the family meals. Her having one day secured an entire sheep's-head, which her younger brother Alexander thought she had swallowed in a moment, supplied one of those domestic jests with which the fugitive father was entertained. While in this lonely place, Sir Patrick had no other reading than Buchanan's psalms, which he comed so thoroughly, that he ever after had the most of them by heart. As the winter advanced, lady Polwarth contrived a retreat underneath the floor of a low apartment at Redbraes, and thinking that this might serve to conceal her husband in the event of any search taking place, had him removed to his own house, where he accordingly lived for some time, till it was found one morning, that the place designed for concealment, had become half filled with water.

Warned by this incident, and by the execution of his friend Mr Baillie, he resolved to remain no longer in his native country. It was projected that he should leave the house next morning in disguise, attended by his grieve or farm-overseer, John Allan, who was instructed to give out that he was going to attend a horse-market at Morpeth. The party stole away by night, and had proceeded a considerable distance on their way, when Sir Patrick, falling into a reverie, parted company with his attendant, and did not discover the mistake till he found himself on the banks of the Tweed. This, however, was a most fortunate misadventure, for, soon after his parting with Allan, a company of soldiers that had been in search of him at Redbraes, and followed in the expectation of overtaking him, came up, and would have inevitably discovered and seized him, if he had not been upon another track. On learning what had happened, he dismissed his servant, and, leaving the main-road, reached London through bye-ways. On this journey he represented himself as a surgeon, a character which he could have supported effectually, if called upon, as he carried a case of lancets, and was acquainted with their use. From London he found his way to France, and thence after a short stay, walked on foot to Brussels, intending to converse with the duke of Monmouth. Finding the duke had gone to the Hague, he proceeded to Holland, but did not immediately obtain a conference with that ill-fated nobleman. He had an audience, however, of the prince of Orange, who, "looking on him (to use the words of Crawford,) as a confessor for the protestant religion, and the liberties of his country, treated him with a very particular respect."

On the death of Charles II., in February, 1685, and the accession of the duke of York, whose attachment to the catholic faith rendered him, in their eyes, unfit to reign, the British refugees in Holland concerted two distinct but relative expeditions, for the salvation of the protestant religion, and to maintain "the



natural and native rights and liberties of the free people of Britain and Ireland, and all the legal fences of society and property there established." One of these expeditions was to land in England, under the duke of Monmouth, whose prosecution of his own views upon the crown, under the favour of the protestant interest, is well known. The other was to be under the conduct of the earl of Argyle, and was to land in Scotland, where it was expected that an army would be formed in the first place from his lordship's Highland retainers, and speedily enforced by the malcontents of Ayrshire, and other parts of the Lowlands. Sir Patrick Hume has left a memoir respecting the latter enterprise, from which it clearly appears that Monmouth gave distinct pledges (afterwards lamentably broken,) as to the deference of his own personal views to the sense of the party in general,—and also that Argyle acted throughout the whole preparations, and in the expedition itself, with a wilfulness, self-seeking, and want of energy, which were but poorly compensated by the general excellence of his motives, and the many worthier points in his character. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, alike admirable for the purity and steadiness of their political views, were next in command, or at least in the actual conduct of affairs, to the earl. The sword of the former gentleman is still preserved, and bears upon both sides of its blade, the following inscription in German :

"Got bewarr die aufrechte Schotten,"

that is, God preserve the righteous Scots. It was not destined, however, that fortune should smile on this enterprise. The patriots sailed on the 2nd of May, in three small vessels, and on the 6th arrived near Kirkwall in the Orkney islands. The imprudent landing of two gentlemen, who were detained by the bishop, served to alarm the government, so that when the expedition reached the country of Argyle, he found that all his friends, upon whom he depended, had been placed under arrest at the capital. After trifling away several weeks in his own district, and affording time to the government to collect its forces, he formed the resolution of descending upon Glasgow. Meanwhile, Sir Patrick Hume and others were forfeited, their estates confiscated, and a high reward offered for their apprehension. While Argyle was lingering at Rothesay, Sir Patrick conducted the descent of a foraging party upon Greenock, and, though opposed by a party of militia, succeeded in his object. Allowing as largely as could be demanded for the personal feelings of this gentleman, it would really appear from his memoir that the only judgment or vigour displayed in the whole enterprise, resided in himself and Sir John Cochrane. When the earl finally resolved at Kilpatrick to give up the appearance of an army, and let each man shift for himself, these two gentlemen conducted a party of less than a hundred men across the Clyde, in the face of a superior force of the enemy, and were able to protect themselves till they reached Muirdykes. Here they were assailed by a large troop of cavalry, and were compelled each man to fight a number of personal contests in order to save his own life. Yet, by a judicious disposition of their little force, and the most unflinching bravery and perseverance, Hume and Cochrane kept their ground till night, when, apprehending the approach of a larger body of foot, they stole away to an unfrequented part of the country, where they deliberately dispersed.

Sir Patrick Hume found protection for three weeks, in the house of Montgomery of Lainshaw, where, or at Kilwinning, it would appear that he wrote the memoir above alluded to, which was first printed in Mr Rose's observations on Fox's historical work, and latterly in the Marchmont papers, (1831.) The better to confound the search made for him, a report of his death was circulated by his friends. Having escaped by a vessel from the west coast, he proceeded

by Dublin to Bourdeaux, where we find he was on the 15th of November. He now resumed his surgical character, and passed under the name of Dr Peter Wallace. Early in 1686, he appears to have proceeded by Geneva to Holland, where his family joined him, and they resided together at Utrecht for three years. The picture of this distressed, but pious and cheerful family, is very affectingly given by lady Murray, in the well-known memoirs of her mother, lady Grizel Baillie. They were reduced to such straits through the absence of all regular income, that lady Hume could not keep a servant, and Sir Patrick was obliged—but this must have been a labour of love—to teach his own children. They were frequently compelled to pawn their plate, to provide the necessaries of life until a fresh supply reached them. Yet, even in this distress, their house was ever open to the numerous refugees who shared in their unhappy fate. Not forgetting political objects, Sir Patrick, in 1688, wrote a letter powerful in style and arguments, to put the presbyterian clergy in Scotland on their guard against the insidious toleration which king James proposed for the purpose of effecting the ascendancy of popery. In this document, which has been printed among the Marchmont papers by Sir G. H. Rose, we find him giving an animated picture of the prince of Orange, whom he already contemplated as the future deliverer of his country, and no doubt wished to point in that character to the attention of Scotsmen; “one,” says he, “bred a Calvinist, who, for religious practice, excels most men so high in quality, and is equal to the most part of whatever rank of the sincere and serious in that communion; for virtue and good morals beyond many; those infirmities natural to poor mankind, and consistent with seriousness in religion, breaking out as little, either for degree or frequency, from him, as from most part of good men, and not one habitual to him: one of a mild and courteous temper; of a plain, ingenuous, and honest nature; of a humane, gay, and affable carriage, without any token of pride or disdain; one educated and brought up in a republic as free as any in the world, and inured to the freedom allowed by and possessed in it. His greatest enemy, if he know him, or my greatest enemy, if he read this, must find his own conscience witnessing to his face, that what I have said is truth, and that I am one of more worth than to sully my argument with a flaunting hyperbole even in favour of a prince.” The modern reader, who is acquainted with the picture usually drawn of the same personage by the English historians, will probably be startled at the gayety and affability here attributed to the prince; but, besides the unavoidable prepossession of Sir Patrick for a person who, it would appear, had treated him kindly, and stood in the most endearing relation to all his favourite objects in religion and politics, it must be allowed that, at an age which might be called youth (thirty-eight), and previous to his undertaking the heavy and ungrateful burden of royalty in Britain, William might have been better entitled to such a description than he was in the latter part of his life.

Before this time, the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume, and his future son-in-law Baillie, had obtained commissions in the horse-guards of the prince of Orange, in whose expedition to England all three soon after took a part. These gentlemen were among those who suffered in the storm by which a part of the prince's fleet was disabled; they had to return to port with the loss of all their luggage, which, in the existing state of their affairs, was a very severe misfortune. The little party appears to have speedily refitted and accompanied the prince at his landing in Devonshire, as we find Sir Patrick writing a diary of the progress to London, in which he seems to have been near the prince all the way from Exeter. In the deliberations held at London respecting the settlement of the new government, Sir Patrick bore a conspicuous part; but it was in Scotland that his zeal and judgment found a proper field of display. In the convention parliament,

which sat down at Edinburgh, March 14, 1689, he appeared as representative of the county of Berwick; and, an objection being made on the score of his forfeiture, he was unanimously voted a member by the house. The decision of this assembly in favour of a settlement of the crown upon William and his consort Mary, soon followed.

The career of public service was now opened to the subject of our memoir, at a period of life when his judgment must have been completely matured, and after he had proved, by many years of suffering under a tyrannical government how worthy he was to obtain honours under one of a liberal complexion. In July, 1690, his attainder was rescinded by act of parliament; he was soon after sworn a member of the privy council; and in December, 1690, he was created a peer by the title of lord Polwarth. The preamble of the patent is a splendid testimony to the eminent virtues he had displayed in asserting the rights and religion of his country. King William at the same time vouchsafed to him an addition to his armorial bearings, "an orange proper ensigned, with an imperial crown, to be placed in a surtout in his coat of arms in all time coming, as a lasting mark of his majesty's royal favour to the family of Polwarth, and in commemoration of his lordship's great affection to his said majesty."

From this period, the life of lord Polwarth is chiefly to be found in the history of his country. He was appointed in 1692, to be principal sheriff of Berwickshire, and in 1693, to be one of the four extraordinary lords of session. Though there is no trace of his having been bred to the law, his conduct in these two employments is said to have been without blemish. His reputation, indeed, for decisions conformable to the laws, for sagacity and soundness of judgment, is, perhaps, one of the most remarkable parts of the brilliant fame which he has left behind him. In 1696, he attained the highest office in Scotland, that of lord chancellor, and in less than a year after, he was promoted in the peerage by the titles, earl of Marchmont, viscount of Blassonberry, lord Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw, to him and to his heirs male whatsoever. He was soon after named one of the commission of the treasury and admiralty; and in 1698 was appointed lord high commissioner to represent the king's person in the parliament which met at Edinburgh in July of that year. To pursue the words of Sir George Rose, who gives a sketch of the life of the earl in his preface to the Marchmont papers, "his correspondence with king William and his ministers, whilst he exercised these high functions, exhibits an earnest and constant desire to act, and to advise, as should best promote at once the honour of his master and benefactor, and the weal of the state; and he had the good fortune to serve a prince, who imposed no duties upon him which brought into conflict his obligations to the sovereign and to his country."

The earl of Marchmont was acting as commissioner at the General Assembly of 1702, when the death of his affectionate sovereign interrupted the proceedings, and plunged him into the deepest grief. He was appointed by queen Anne to continue to preside over the assembly till the conclusion of its proceedings; but the principles of this great man were too rigid to allow of his long continuing in office under the new government. In his letter to queen Anne, written on the death of king William, he was too little of a courtier to disguise the feelings which possessed him as a man, although he must have known that every word he used in admiration or lamentation of her predecessor must have been grating to her ears. In the first session of the parliament after her accession, he presented to it an act for the abjuration of the pretender; and, though it was in conformity to, and in imitation of the English act passed immediately on her ascending the throne, and was read a first time, the high commissioner adjourned the house in order to stop the measure. In a memorial to the queen of the 1st

of July, 1702, (*Marchmont Papers*) will be found a full vindication of his conduct in this matter, and a statement of that held by his friends, and the commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, differing essentially from Lockhart's. He was on this dismissed from his office of chancellor, the place being conferred on the earl of Seafield.

Having thus sacrificed his office to his principles, he pursued the latter in the ensuing parliaments with the consistency and fervour which might have been expected from such a man. The protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and the union of the two divisions of the island under one legislature, were the two objects on which he now centered his attention and energies. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the general temper of the Scottish people was perversely opposed to both of these measures, and that it was only the minority of such consistent whigs as lord Marchmont, who, reposing more upon great abstract principles than narrow views of immediate advantage, saw them in their proper light, and gave them the weight of their influence. An attempt of the earl to introduce an act for the Hanover succession, at a time when his fellow statesmen were chiefly bent on asserting by the act of Security the useless independence of their country, was so ill received that there was even some talk of consigning this noble patriot to the state-prison in Edinburgh castle. Afterwards, however, when the government of queen Anne was obliged to adopt the measure of a union, his lordship had the pleasure of contributing his aid—and most willingly was it rendered—towards what had been the grand object of his political life. The selection of the Scottish commissioners, upon which the whole matter hinged, was effected in obedience to a sagacious advice tendered by lord Marchmont—namely, that they should be “the most considerable men, provided they were whigs, and therefore friends to the Revolution; but such alone, with disregard to their feelings respecting an incorporating union, as hostile to it or not.” The reasonings he employed to enforce this principle of selection are to be found in the *Marchmont Papers*; and we learn from Lockhart to how great an extent they were acted on. Speaking of the commissioners, this gentleman says, that “all were of the court or whig interest except himself,” an ardent Jacobite, an exception only made in the hope of gaining him through his uncle, the whig lord Wharton. It is universally allowed that this principle, though the author of it has not heretofore been very distinctly known, achieved the union.

We are now to advert to a circumstance of a painful nature respecting the earl of Marchmont, but which we have no doubt has taken its rise either from error or from calumny. As a leader of the independent party in the Scots parliament—called the *Squadrone Volante*—it is alleged that his lordship was one of those individuals who were brought over to the government views by bribery; and Lockhart actually places the sum of 1104*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* against his name, as his share of the twenty thousand pounds said to have been disbursed by the English exchequer, for the purpose of conciliating the chief opponents of the measure. Sir George H. Rose has made an accurate and laborious investigation into the foundation of these allegations, from which it would not only appear that lord Marchmont has been calumniated, but that a very incorrect notion has hitherto prevailed respecting the application of the money above referred to. We must confess that it has always appeared to us a most improbable story, that, even in the impoverished state of Scotland at that time, noblemen, some of whom were known to entertain liberal and enlightened views, and had previously maintained a pure character, were seduced by such trifling sums as those placed against them in the list given by Lockhart. Sir George Rose has shown, to our entire satisfaction, that the sum given on this occasion to the earl of Marchmont

was a payment of arrears due upon offices and pensions—in other words, the payment of a just debt; and that he is not blamable in the matter, unless it can be shown that receiving the payment of a debt can under *any* circumstances be disgraceful to the creditor. The best proof of his lordship's innocence is to be found in his conduct at the union, and for years before it. It is clear from his letters to the English statesmen, that the union was an object which he constantly had at heart, and that so far from being drawn over by any means whatever to their views, he had in reality urged them into it with all his strength and spirit, and all along acted with them in the negotiations by which it was effected. Money does not appear to have been so abundant on this occasion, as to make it probable that any was spent, except upon opponents.

The earl of Marchmont offered himself as a candidate at the election of the Scots representative peers in 1707, and again on the dissolution of parliament in 1708, but in each case without success. He could scarcely calculate on the countenance of queen Anne's government; for, if he had rendered it eminent services, he had also taught it how uncompromising was his adherence to his principles. Thus his parliamentary life ceased with the union. But his letters written subsequently to it give evidence that his mind was engaged deeply in all the events affecting the weal and honour of his country. Nor was his patriotism deadened by the insult and injury he received from the court, when, at the accession of the tory ministry in 1710, he was deprived of his office of sheriff of Berwickshire, which was conferred on the earl of Home.

In 1703, lord Marchmont had the misfortune to lose his amiable and affectionate spouse, of the family of Ker of Cavers, to whose virtues he has left a very affecting testimony. In 1709, he suffered a hardly less severe calamity in the death of his eldest son lord Polwarth, a colonel of cavalry, who, beginning his service in king William's body-guard, served through his wars and the duke of Marlborough's with reputation, and died childless, though twice married. He was treasurer depute in 1696. His amiable and honourable character fully justified his father's grief. The second brother Robert, also a soldier, died many years before him.

The accession of George I. gave to lord Marchmont what he called the desire of his heart, a protestant king upon the throne. He was immediately re-appointed sheriff of Berwickshire. In 1715, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, acting on the feelings and principles of his youth, he forbade a meeting of the gentlemen of the county, which had been proposed in the professed view of obtaining a redress of hardships, but which would have embarrassed the newly established government; and his lordship took the necessary precautions to render his prohibition effectual. When he saw the protestant succession secure, he gave up all thoughts of active life, and removed to Berwick-upon-Tweed, to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He retained his cheerful disposition to the last. A short time before his death, he was visited by his daughter, lady Grizel Baillie, and his grand-children, who, with a number of his friends, had a dance. Being then very weak in his limbs he was unable to come down stairs, but desired to be carried down to see them; and, as pleasingly recorded by his grand-daughter, lady Murray, he was so much delighted with the happy faces he saw around him, that he remarked, "though he could not dance, he could yet beat time with his foot."

On the 1st of August, 1724, this illustrious patriot breathed his last at Berwick, in the eighty-third year of his age, leaving one of the most irreproachable characters which have come down to us from that time, if not from others of greater general virtue. He had become so reconciled to the prospect of death, that, though no doubt sensible of the solemn change which it was to produce, he

could make it the subject of a gentle mirth. Being observed to smile, he was asked the reason by his grandson, the ingenious lord Binning, to whom he answered, "I am diverted to think what a disappointment the worms will meet with, when they come to me expecting a good meal, and find nothing but bones." Lord Marchmont, he it remarked, though at one time a handsome man, had always been of a spare habit of body, and was now much attenuated. His character has already been sufficiently displayed in his actions, and the slight commentaries we have ventured to make upon them. It is impossible, however, to refrain from adding the testimony of Fox, who, in his historical work, says of him, as Sir Patrick Hume, that "he is proved, by the whole tenor of his life and conduct, to have been uniformly zealous and sincere in the cause of his country."

HUME, ALEXANDER, second earl of Marchmont, the eldest surviving son and successor of the first earl, having maintained the historical lustre of the family, deserves a place in the present work, though only perhaps in a subordinate way. He was born in 1675, and in his boyhood shared the exile and distress of his family. Before his elder brother's death, he was distinguished as Sir Alexander Campbell of Cessnock, having married the daughter and heiress of that family. He was brought up as a lawyer, and became a judge of the court of session before he was thirty years of age. He was a privy councillor and a baron of the court of Exchequer, and served in the Scottish parliament, first for Kirkwall, and then for Berwickshire, when the act of union passed. Emulating his father's feelings, he zealously promoted that measure, and took a very active share in the arduous labours that were devolved upon the sub-committee, to which the articles of the union were referred.

But the principal historical transaction in which this nobleman was concerned, was the introduction of the family of Hanover to the British throne. A report having been circulated that the electoral family was indifferent to the honours opened up to them by the act of succession, lord Polwarth, (for he had now attained this designation,) proceeded in 1712, to Hanover, and entered into a correspondence with the august family there resident, which enabled him fully to contradict the rumour. He took a leading part in suppressing the rebellion of 1715, by which that succession was sought to be defeated, and, in 1716, was rewarded for his services, by being appointed ambassador to the court of Denmark.

After acceding to the family honours in 1722, the earl of Marchmont was honoured with several important places of trust under government, till joining the opposition against the excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole, he forfeited the favour of the court and his place as a privy councillor, which he then held. "It appears," says Sir George Henry Rose,<sup>1</sup> "that the distinguished members of the Scottish nobility who joined in this act of hostility to the ministers, were less induced so to do by any particular objections to that measure of finance, than by the hope, that their junction with the English who resisted it, might lead to the subversion of lord Hlay's government of Scotland, a rule which they felt to be painful and humiliating. They knew it moreover to be sustained by means, many of which they could not respect, and which they believed to tend to degrade and alienate the nation. That they judged rightly in apprehending that the system adopted by Sir Robert Walpole and his virtual viceroy, for the management of the public affairs in North Britain, was ill calculated to conciliate to the reigning family the affections of the people, was but too sufficiently proved by subsequent events. He sat as one of the sixteen Scots peers in the parliament of 1727; but at the general election in 1754, the hand of

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Marchmont Papers.

power was upon him; and, being excluded, he, together with the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the earl of Stair, and other Scottish noblemen, entered into a concert with the leading English members of the opposition, in order to bring the machinations unsparingly used to control the election of the peers in Scotland, to light, and their authors to punishment. Sir Robert Walpole's better fortune, however, prevailed against it, as it did against a similar project in 1739." The earl of Marchmont died in January, 1740, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Hugh, who was destined to exhibit the extraordinary spectacle of a family, maintaining, in the third generation, the same talent, judgment, and worth which had distinguished the two preceding.

HUME, HUGH CAMPBELL, third and last earl of Marchmont, was born at Edinburgh on the 15th February, 1708, and soon became remarkable for the precocity of his intellect, and the versatility of his genius. His mind was equally directed to the acquisition of scholastic erudition and political knowledge, and on all subjects he was supposed to be excelled by few or none of his time. In 1734, when only twenty-six years of age, he was chosen member for the county of Berwick, and entered the House of Commons as lord Polwarth, at the same time that his younger and twin brother, Mr Hume Campbell, came forward as representative for the burghs of the district. The injustice and neglect which Sir Robert Walpole had shown to lord Marchmont, was speedily avenged by the trouble which these young men gave to his government. The former soon attained the first place in the opposition; and how keenly his attacks were felt by the ministry is shown in a remark made by the latter person, to the effect that "there were few things he more ardently desired than to see that young man at the head of his family," and thus deprived of a seat in the house. This wish was soon gratified, for his father dying in 1740, lord Polwarth succeeded as earl of Marchmont, nor did he again enter the walls of parliament until the year 1750, when a vacancy occurring in the representation of the Scottish peerage, he was almost unanimously elected. From his talents as a speaker, his extensive information, and active business habits, he acquired great influence in the upper house, and was constantly re-chosen at every general election, during the long period of 34 years. He was appointed first lord of police in 1747, and keeper of the great seal of Scotland, in January, 1764, the latter of which he held till his death. The estimation in which his lordship was held by his contemporaries may be judged of by the circumstance of his living on terms of the strictest intimacy with the celebrated lord Cobham, (who gave his bust a place in the Temple of Worthies at Stow,) Sir William Wyndham, lord Bolingbroke, the duchess of Marlborough, Mr Pope, and other eminent persons of that memorable era. The duchess appointed him one of her executors, and bequeathed him a legacy of £2,500 for his trouble, and as a proof of her esteem. Mr Pope likewise appointed him one of his executors, leaving him a large-paper edition of Thuanus, and a portrait of lord Bolingbroke, painted by Richardson. The poet likewise immortalized him, by introducing his name into the well-known inscription in the Twickenham grotto:—

"Then the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul!"

His lordship's library contained one of the most curious and valuable collections of books and manuscripts in Great Britain; all of which he bequeathed at his death to his sole executor, the right honourable George Rose.

His lordship was twice married; first, in 1731, to Miss Western of London, by whom he had four children, a son (who died young), and three daughters; the youngest of whom was afterwards married to Walter Scott, Esq. of Harden. Upon the death of his wife, in 1747, he next year married a Miss Elizabeth

Crompton, whose father was a linen draper in Cheapside, by whom he had one son, Alexander, lord Polwarth, who died without issue, in the 31st year of his age. The circumstances attending this second marriage were very peculiar, and his lordship's conduct on the occasion, seems altogether so much at variance with his general character, as well as with one in his rank and circumstances in life, that we reckon them worthy of being recorded here;—and in doing so, we think we cannot do better than adopt the account of them given by the celebrated David Hume, in a familiar epistle to the late Mr Oswald of Dunnikier, and published in the latter gentleman's correspondence. The letter is dated, London, January 29th, 1748:—"Lord Marchmont has had the most extraordinary adventure in the world. About three weeks ago, he was at the play, when he espied in one of the boxes a fair virgin, whose looks, airs, and manners, had such a powerful and wonderful effect upon him, as was visible by every by-stander. His raptures were so undisguised, his looks so expressive of passion, his inquiries so earnest, that every person took notice of it. He soon was told that her name was Crompton, a linen draper's daughter, that had been bankrupt last year, and had not been able to pay above five shillings in the pound. The fair nymph herself was about sixteen or seventeen, and being supported by some relations, appeared in every public place, and had fatigued every eye but that of his lordship, which, being entirely employed in the severer studies, had never till that fatal moment opened upon her charms. Such and so powerful was their effect, as to be able to justify all the Pharamonds and Cyrusses in their utmost extravagancies. He wrote next morning to her father, desiring to visit his daughter on honourable terms: and in a few days she will be the countess of Marchmont. All this is certainly true. They say many small fevers prevent a great one. Heaven be praised that I have always liked the persons and company of the fair sex! for by that means I hope to escape such ridiculous passions. But could you ever suspect the ambitious, the severe, the bustling, the impetuous, the violent Marchmont, of becoming so tender and gentle a swain—an Artamenes—an Oroondates!"

His lordship died at his seat, at Hemel Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, on the 10th of January, 1794, and leaving no heirs male, all the titles of the family became extinct; but his estate descended to his three daughters. According to Sir George H. Rose, who, from his family connexion with the earl of Marchmont, had the best means of knowing, this nobleman "was an accomplished and scientific horseman, and a theoretical and practical husbandman and gardener. He pursued his rides and visits to his farm and garden as long as his strength would suffice for the exertion; and some hours of the forenoon, and frequently of the evening, were dedicated to his books. His most favourite studies appear to have been in the civil law, and in the laws of England and Scotland, in the records and history of the European nations, and in ancient history; and the traces of them are very unequivocal. The fruits of his labours in extracts, observations, comparisons, and researches, all made in his own hand-writing, are not more to be admired than wondered at, as the result of the industry of one who was stimulated neither by poverty nor by eagerness for literary celebrity. His Dutch education had given him method, which was the best possible auxiliary to an ardent and powerful mind, such as his was."

In the publication which we have entitled the Marchmont Papers, are many of earl Hugh, of which the most important feature is a diary, which he kept during three different periods of peculiar interest in the reign of George the Second. The first extends from the latter end of July, 1744, to the end of that year, and embraces the events which led to the formation of what was called the Broad Bottom Administration, when lord Carteret, who just then became earl



of Granville, was compelled to retire by the Pelhams, the king consenting thereto very reluctantly, and when the dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, and Dorset, and the earls of Harrington and Chesterfield, came into office. The second period begins in September, 1745, when news had just been received in London that the Pretender was near Edinburgh, and that it would probably be soon in his occupation. It closes in the February following, with the extraordinary events of that month, the resignation of the Pelham ministry, and its re-establishment after the earl of Bath's and the earl of Granville's interregnum of three days. The third period commences in July, 1747, and terminates in March, 1748, soon after the earl of Chesterfield's resignation, and the duke of Bedford's appointment to succeed him as secretary of state.

HUME, PATRICK, is noticed by various writers as the name of an individual who adorned the literature of his country at the close of the seventeenth century. Who or what he was, is not known: it is only probable, from the regularity with which certain first names occur in genealogies in connexion with surnames, that he belonged to the Polwarth branch of the family of Home, or Hume, as in that branch there were six or seven successive barons bearing the name of Patrick. This learned man is only known to have written the notes connected with the sixth edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which was published in folio by Tonson in 1695, and is one of the most elegant productions of the British press that have ever appeared. It has been a matter of just surprise to several writers of Scottish biography, that absolutely nothing should have been handed down respecting this person, seeing that his notes evince a high degree of taste, and most extensive erudition, and are in fact the model of almost all commentaries subsequent to his time. "His notes," says an anonymous writer,<sup>1</sup> "are always curious; his observations on some of the finer passages of the poet, show a mind deeply smit with an admiration for the sublime genius of their author; and there is often a masterly nervousness in his style, which is very remarkable for this age." But the ignorance of subsequent ages respecting the learned commentator is sufficiently accounted for by the way in which his name appears on the title-page, being simply in initials, with the affix *φιλοποιητης*, and by the indifference of the age to literary history. It would appear that the commentary, learned and admirable as it is, speedily fell out of public notice, as in 1750, the Messrs Foulis of Glasgow published the first book of the *Paradise Lost*, with notes by Mr Callender of Craigforth, which are shown to be, to a great extent, borrowed from the work of Hume, without the most distant hint of acknowledgment.

HUNTER, (DR) HENRY, a divine highly distinguished in literature, was born at Culross, in the year 1741. His parents, though in humble life, gave him a good education, which was concluded by an attendance at the university of Edinburgh. Here his talents and application attracted the notice of the professors, and at the early age of seventeen he was appointed tutor to Mr Alexander Boswell, who subsequently became a judge of the court of session, under the designation of lord Balmouto. He afterwards accepted the same office in the family of the earl of Dundonald at Culross abbey, and thus had the honour of instructing the late venerable earl, so distinguished by his scientific inquiries and inventions. In 1764, having passed the necessary trials with unusual approbation, he was licensed as a minister of the gospel, and soon excited attention to his pulpit talents. So highly were these in public esteem, that, in 1766, he was ordained one of the ministers of South Leith, which has always been con-

<sup>1</sup> Blackwood's Magazine, iv. 662, where there is a series of extracts from Hume's Commentary, in contrast with similar passages from that published by Mr Callender of Craigforth.

sidered as one of the most respectable appointments in the Scottish church. He had here ingratiated himself in an uncommon degree with his congregation, when a visit to London, in 1769, opened up to his ambition a still wider field of usefulness. The sermons which he happened to deliver on this occasion in several of the Scottish meeting-houses, drew much attention, and the result was an invitation, which reached him soon after his return, to become minister of the chapel in Swallow Street. This he declined; but in 1771, a call from the London Wall congregation tempted him away from his Scottish flock, who manifested the sincerest sorrow at his departure. This translation not only was an advancement in his profession, but it paved the way for a series of literary exertions, upon which his fame was ultimately to rest. Several single sermons first introduced him to the world as an author. These were on the ordination of O. Nicholson, M. A., 1775, 2 Cor. iv. 7, 8; On the study of the Sacred Scriptures, Acts xviii. 11, in the work called the Scottish Preacher, vol. iv.; at the funeral of the Rev. George Turnbull, 1783; On the opening of a meeting-house at Walthamstow, in 1787, Rev. xxi. 3, 4; On the Revolution, 1788; The Believer's Joy, Acts viii. 39; also in the fourth volume of the Scottish Preacher. These sermons, with some miscellaneous pieces, were collected and published, in two volumes, after the author's death. Dr Hunter first appeared as a general writer in 1783, when he published the first volumes of his "Sacred Biography, or the history of the Patriarchs and of Jesus Christ," which was ultimately extended to seven volumes, and has become a standard work, the seventh edition having appeared in 1814. Before this work was completed, the notice attracted by the system of Lavater throughout civilized Europe, tempted him to engage in an English version of the "Physiognomy" of that philosopher, whom he previously visited at his residence in Switzerland, in order to obtain from the conversation of the learned man himself, as perfect an idea as possible of his particular doctrines. It is said that Lavater at first displayed an unexpected coolness on the subject of Dr Hunter's visit, being afraid that an English translation might injure the sale of the French edition, in which he had a pecuniary interest. This, however, seems to have been got over; for Lavater eventually treated his English visitor in a manner highly agreeable. "As their professions were alike," says an anonymous writer, "so their sentiments, their feelings, and their opinions, are altogether alike. A complete acquaintance with the French language enabled Dr Hunter to enjoy Lavater's conversation freely; and he ever afterwards talked with enthusiasm of the simplicity of manners, the unaffected piety, the unbounded benevolence, and the penetrating genius, of this valued friend. The bare mention of that barbarous cruelty which massacred the virtuous Lavater, was sufficient to make him shrink back with horror."—The first number of this work was published in 1789, and it was not completed till nine years after, when it ultimately formed five volumes, in quarto, bearing the title of "Essays on Physiognomy, designed to promote the knowledge and love of mankind, by John Caspar Lavater." Dr Hunter's abilities as a translator were of the first order, and, in this instance, drew forth the entire approbation of the original author. The work was, moreover, embellished in a style, which, at that time, might be considered as unrivaled. It contained above eight hundred engravings, executed by and under the direction of Mr Holloway, and such was altogether the elaborate elegance of the publication, that it could not be sold to the public under thirty pounds per copy. We are only left to regret that so much talent, so much taste, and such a large sum of money as this price would indicate, should have been spent upon an inquiry which the acute and precise sense of the immediately succeeding generation has pronounced to be in a great measure a delusion.

At the time of the French revolution, Dr Hunter republished a treatise by Robert Fleming, whose life, with an account of the work in question, has already been given in this Biographical Dictionary. The pamphlet contained some prophetic intimations, which Dr Hunter supposed to bear a reference to the events in the neighbouring kingdom. It is needless to remark the weakness which alone could dictate such a proceeding in this generally able and enlightened man. Dr Hunter also published a "Sermon preached, February 3, 1793, on the execution of Louis XVI."

In 1795, he attempted a translation from the German, selecting for this purpose Euler's celebrated "Letters to a German princess." This work met with the entire approbation of the public, and has proved a very useful addition to the stock of our native scientific literature. The first edition was in quarto, and a second, in octavo, appeared in 1802. The work has since been reprinted in a smaller size, with notes by Sir David Brewster. The merit of Dr Hunter as a translator was now universally acknowledged, and work accordingly pressed upon him. While still engaged in his version of Lavater, he commenced, in 1796, the publishing of a translation of St Pierre's *Studies of Nature*, which was completed in 1799, in five volumes octavo, afterwards republished in three. "His translation," says the anonymous writer above quoted, "of the beautiful and enthusiastic works of St Pierre, was universally read and admired: here, if in any instance, the translator entered into the spirit of the author, for the glow of benevolence which gives life to every page of '*Les Etudes de la Nature*' was entirely congenial to the feelings of Dr Hunter." Saurin's *Sermons*, and Soncini's *Travels to Upper and Lower Egypt*, complete the list of Dr Hunter's labours as a translator; and it is but small praise to say, that few men have reached the same degree of excellence in that important branch of literature. During the progress of other labours, Dr Hunter published more than one volume of original sermons, and a volume entitled "*Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity*," being the completion of a plan begun by the Rev. John Fell. He also commenced the publication, in parts, of a popular "*History of London and its Environs*," which, however, he did not live to complete.

In the year 1790, Dr Hunter was appointed secretary to the corresponding board of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. He was likewise chaplain to the Scots corporation in London, and both these institutions were much benefited by his zealous exertions in their behalf. It must be obvious from the frequent and involved succession of his literary productions, that Dr Hunter spent a most industrious life, and was upon the whole the most busy as he approached that stage of existence when the generality of men begin to find ease not only agreeable but necessary. It is probable that this unceasing exertion, which no doubt was more occasioned by necessity than by choice, tended to break down his constitution, which was further weakened in his latter years by the agitation and distress of mind consequent on the death of three beloved children. Having retired to Bristol wells for the recovery of his health, he died there, of inflammation in the lungs, October 27, 1802, in the sixty-second year of his age.

"If Dr Hunter," says his anonymous biographer,<sup>2</sup> "was conspicuous as an author, he was still more to be admired as a man. An unbounded flow of benevolence, which made him enjoy and give enjoyment to every society, joined to a warmth of feeling, which made him take an interest in every occurrence, rendered him the delight of all his acquaintance. His social talents were of the highest order. An easy flow of conversation, never loud, never overbearing, and completely free from affectation; an inexhaustible fund of pleasant anecd-

<sup>2</sup> Obituary of *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxii. 1072.

dotes and occasional flashes of wit and humour, made every company he joined pleased with him and with themselves. He was particularly happy in adapting his conversation to those he conversed with; and while to a lady his discourse appeared that of a polished gentleman, the scholar was surprised by his apt quotations from the classics, and the ease with which he turned to any subject that was brought before him. \* \* His private charities were as numerous as the objects of compassion which occurred to him; nor should his unbounded and cheerful hospitality be forgot among his other virtues." [He is said to have carried this virtue beyond the bounds which a regard to prudence and economy should have prescribed.] "The crowded attendance and the universal regret of his congregation are the best proofs of the effect of his pulpit eloquence. His enlightened and liberal views of religion made his meeting-house the resort of the leading Scotsmen in London; and it was here that the natives of the southern part of the island had an opportunity of observing a specimen of that church which produced a Robertson and a Blair. \* \* Dr Hunter was of a spare habit of body, and remarkably active; and his usual cheerfulness and flow of good humour continued till within a few weeks of his death." He left a family, consisting of a wife, two sons, and a daughter.

HUNTER, WILLIAM and JOHN, two eminent physicians, fall to be noticed here under one head, in order that we may, without violating alphabetical arrangement, give William that priority to which his seniority and precedence in public life render necessary.

WILLIAM HUNTER was born, May 23, 1718, at Kilbride in the county of Lanark. His great-grandfather, by his father's side, was a younger son of Hunter of Hunterston. His father and mother lived on a small estate in the above county, called Calderwood, which had been some time in the possession of their family. They had ten children, of whom the subject of our present memoir was the seventh, while John was the tenth. One of his sisters married the reverend James Baillie, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, and became the mother of Matthew Baillie, the late celebrated physician, whose labours in morbid anatomy have been of such essential service in promoting the study of pathology. William Hunter was sent to the college of Glasgow at the age of fourteen, where he pursued his studies with diligence, and obtained the esteem of the professors and his fellow students. He was at this time designed for the church;—but hesitated, from conscientious motives to subscribe all the articles of its faith. There is perhaps no position so painful as that of a man whose mind is overshadowed by doubts on doctrinal points of religion, having firmness in himself to investigate narrowly the foundation of the principles he should embrace, and rectitude enough to acknowledge with candour the difficulties by which he is embarrassed. Such was the state of mind of William Hunter when he became acquainted with the eminent Dr Cullen, who was then established in practice at Hamilton. After much deliberation, under his persuasion, he determined to relinquish his theological studies, and devote himself exclusively to the profession of medicine. Accordingly, having obtained the consent of his father, in the year 1737, he went to reside with Dr Cullen; in whose family he lived nearly three years; a period which afterwards, when he was engaged in the anxieties and turmoil that are ever attendant on the life of a medical man, he looked back upon with peculiar pleasure. It was the *oasis* on which, in after years, his memory loved to dwell. Between these two gifted individuals a partnership was now formed, and it was agreed that William Hunter should take charge of the surgical, and Dr Cullen of the medical cases that occurred in their practice. To carry their mutual wishes more efficiently into operation, it was arranged that William Hunter should proceed to Edin-

burgh, and then to London, for the purpose of pursuing his medical studies in each of these cities, after which, that he should return to settle at Hamilton.

In November, 1740, William Hunter went to Edinburgh, where he remained until the following spring, attending the lectures of the medical professors there, among whom he had the advantage of attending Dr Alexander Monro, who was one of the most talented and able professors, who, perhaps, ever adorned that university. In the summer of 1741, he proceeded to London, and resided with Mr, afterwards Dr Smellie, then an apothecary in Pall Mall. He took with him a letter of introduction from Mr Foulis, the printer at Glasgow, to Dr James Douglas. At first, Mr Hunter commenced the study of anatomy under the tuition of Dr Frank Nicholls, who was the most eminent teacher of anatomy then in London, and who had formerly professed the science at Oxford. It appears that Dr Douglas had been under some obligation to Mr Foulis, who had collected for him several editions of Horace, and he naturally, therefore, paid attention to young Hunter, whom he at once recognized to be an acute and talented observer. Dr Douglas was at that time intent on a great anatomical work on the bones, which he did not live to complete, and was looking out for a young man of industry and ability whom he might employ as his dissector. He soon perceived that his new acquaintance would be an eligible assistant to him, and after some preliminary conversation invited him into his family, for the double purpose of assisting him with his dissections, and directing the education of his son. The pecuniary resources of young Hunter were at this time very slender, and the situation was to him therefore highly advantageous; but it was with difficulty that he could obtain the consent of his father for him to accept it, who being now old and infirm, awaited with impatience his return to Scotland. Ultimately, however, he was prevailed on to acquiesce in the wishes of his son, which he did with reluctance; he did not, however, long survive, as he died on the 30th of the October following, aged seventy-eight. Mr Hunter's previous arrangements with Dr Cullen formed no obstacle to his new views; for he had no sooner explained his position, than Dr Cullen, anxious for his advancement, readily canceled the articles of agreement, and left his friend to pursue the path which promised to lead him to fame and to fortune. At liberty now to take advantage of all the means of instruction by which he was surrounded, he pursued his studies with assiduity. By the friendly assistance of Dr Douglas he was enabled to enter himself as a surgeon's pupil at St George's hospital, under Mr James Wilkie, and as dissecting pupil under Mr Frank Nicholls. He also attended a course of experimental philosophy, which was delivered by Desaguliers. He soon became very expert as a dissector, insomuch that Dr Douglas went to the expense of having several of his preparations engraved. But he did not enjoy his liberal patronage and aid long, for many months had not elapsed when his kind benefactor died, an event which happened April 1, 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr Douglas left a widow and two children;—but his death made no alteration in respect to Mr Hunter, who continued as before to reside in his family, and perform the same duties which he had previously done.

In the year 1743, the first production from the pen of Mr Hunter was communicated to the Royal Society. It was an "Essay on the Structure and Diseases of Articulating Cartilages," a subject which had not been at that time sufficiently investigated, and on which his observations threw considerable light. His favourite scheme was now to commence as a lecturer on anatomy;—but he did not rashly enter on this undertaking, but passed some years more in acquiring the necessary knowledge, and in making the numerous preparations which are necessary to exhibit in a complete course of anatomy. There is, perhaps,

no branch of medical science which demands more patient and assiduous toil than this, more especially at that period, when there were so few aids to anatomical knowledge. He communicated his project to Dr Nicholls, who had declined lecturing, in favour of Dr Lawrence, who gave him little encouragement; and he retired, as many others similarly situated have done, to meditate on his own secret hopes, and to await a fit opportunity for commencing his designs. It thus happens in the lives of many young men, that wiser heads caution them against embarking in schemes they have long cherished, and in which, after all, they are destined to be successful. The ardour and perseverance of youth often accomplish undertakings which appear wild and romantic to the sterner and colder judgment of the aged. To William Hunter the wished-for opportunity soon occurred, whereby he was enabled to put his plans to the test of experience. A society of navy surgeons at that time existed, which occupied rooms in Covent Garden, and to this society Mr Samuel Sharpe had been engaged as a lecturer on the operations of surgery. This course Mr Sharpe continued to repeat, until finding that it interfered too much with his other engagements; he resigned in favour of William Hunter, who gave his first anatomical course in the winter of 1746. It is said that when he first began to speak in public he experienced much solicitude; but the applause he met with inspired him with that confidence which is so essential an element of all good oratory. Indeed, he gradually became so fond of teaching, that some few years before his death, he acknowledged that he was never happier than when engaged in lecturing. The profits of the first two courses were considerable; but having with much generosity contributed to supply the pecuniary wants of his friends, he found himself so reduced on the return of the next season, that he was obliged to postpone his lectures, because he had not money to defray the necessary expenses of advertising. An anecdote is mentioned by his biographer Symmons, very characteristic of the early difficulties which are experienced by many men of genius. Mr Watson, one of his earliest pupils, accompanied him home after his next introductory lecture. He had just received seventy guineas for admission fees, which he carried in a bag under his cloak, and observed to his friend, "that it was a larger sum than he had ever been master of before." His previous experience now taught him more circumspection;—he became more cautious of lending money, and by strict economy amassed that great fortune, which he afterwards so liberally devoted to the interests of science. His success as a lecturer before the society of navy surgeons was so decided, that its members requested him to extend his course to anatomy, and gave him the free use of their room for his lectures. This compliment he could not fail to have duly appreciated, and it may be regarded as the precursory sign of that brilliant career which he was soon afterwards destined to pursue.

In the year 1747, he was admitted a member of the Incorporation of Surgeons, and after the close of his lectures in the spring of the following year, he set out with his pupil, Mr James Douglas, on a tour through Holland and Paris. At Leyden, he visited the illustrious Albinus, whose admirable injections inspired him with the zeal to excel in this useful department of anatomy. Having made this tour, he returned to prepare his winter course of lectures, which he commenced at the usual time.

Mr Hunter at this time practised surgery as well as midwifery; but the former branch of the profession he always disliked. His patron, Dr Douglas, had acquired considerable reputation as an accoucheur, and this probably induced him to direct his views to this line of practice. Besides this, an additional inducement presented itself, in the circumstance of his being elected one of the surgeon accoucheurs to the Middlesex hospital, and afterwards to the

British Lying-in Hospital. The introduction of male practitioners in this department of the profession, according to Astruc, took place on the confinement of madame la Valliere in 1663. She was anxious for concealment, and called in Julian Clement, an eminent surgeon, who was secretly conducted into the house where she lay, covering her face with a hood, and where the king is said to have been hidden behind the curtains. He attended her in her subsequent accouchments, and his success soon brought the class of male practitioners into fashion. Nor was this a matter of minor import, for hereby the mortality among lying-in women has been materially reduced. Mowbray is said to have been the first lecturer on obstetrics in London, and he delivered his course of lectures in the year 1725. To him succeeded the Chamberlains, after whom, Smellie gave a new air of importance and dignity to the science. It is said that the manners of Smellie were by no means prepossessing—indeed they are described to have been unpleasing and rough; therefore, although a man of superior talent, he necessarily found a difficulty in making his way among the refined and the more polished circles of society. Herein, Hunter had a decided advantage, for while he was recognized to be a man of superior abilities; his manners and address were extremely conciliating and engaging. The most lucrative part of the practice of midwifery was at this time divided between Sir Richard Manningham and Dr Sandys;—the former of whom died, and the latter retired into the country just after Mr Hunter became known as an accoucheur.

The field was now in a great measure left open to him, and in proportion as his reputation increased, he became more extensively consulted. His predecessor Dr Sandys, had been formerly professor of anatomy at Cambridge, where he had formed a valuable collection of preparations, which on his death having fallen into the hands of Dr Bloomfield, was now purchased by Mr Hunter for the sum of £200. There can be no doubt that the celebrity of Mr Hunter as an anatomist contributed to increase his practice as an accoucheur, as it was reasonably expected that his minute knowledge of anatomy would give him a correspondingly great command in difficult and dangerous cases. Acting now principally as an accoucheur, he appears to have entirely relinquished the surgical department of his profession; and desirous of practising as a physician, obtained in 1750, the degree of doctor of medicine from the university of Glasgow. The degree of doctor of medicine at that and other universities of Scotland, was at this period granted, on the candidate's paying a certain sum of money and presenting a certificate from other doctors of medicine of his being qualified to practise the healing art—but so much was the facility of obtaining these degrees abused that this method of granting them has been very properly abolished. Shortly after obtaining his diploma, Dr Hunter left the family of Mr Douglas, and went to reside in Jermyn Street, Soho Square.

The following summer he revisited his native country, for which, amidst the professional prosperity of a town life, he continued to entertain a cordial affection. He found on his arrival that his mother was still living at Long Calderwood, which was now become his own property, in consequence of the death of his brother James, who died in the 28th year of his age. It is worthy of notice, that this young man had been a writer to the signet in Edinburgh; but disliking the profession of the law, he went to London, with the intention of studying anatomy under his brother William—so that it would almost appear, that in the family of the Hunters there was an hereditary love for medical science. Ill health, however, which bows down the intellectual power of the strongest of mankind, preyed upon his constitution; so that he could not carry his plans into execution, and he therefore returned to his birth place, where

he died. At this period, Dr Cullen was progressing to that fame which he subsequently attained; and was residing at Glasgow, where Dr Hunter again met him, to take a retrospect over the eventful changes which had signalized the progress of their separate lives. Such a meeting could not, under the peculiar circumstances, fail to be interesting to both; for there scarcely can be any gratification superior to that of meeting in after life, the friend of early youth, pursuing successfully the career which at one time was commenced together, and who is still opening up the paths to new discoveries, in which both sympathize and delight, while, at the same time, the same sentiments of personal friendship remain undiminished in all their original strength and sincerity.

On the return of Dr Hunter to London, he continued corresponding with Dr Cullen on a variety of interesting scientific subjects, and many of the letters have been recently published by Dr Thomson, in his life of this eminent physician, a work which should be familiar to all who take any interest in the history of medical science.

On the return of Dr Hunter to London, on the resignation of Dr Layard, who had officiated as one of the physicians to the British Lying-in Hospital, we find the governors of that institution voting their "thanks to Dr Hunter for the services he had done the hospital, and for his continuance in it as one of the physicians." Accordingly he was established in this office without the usual form of an election. He was admitted in the following year licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and was soon after elected a member of the Medical Society. His history of an aneurism of the aorta appears in the first volume of their "Observations and Enquiries," published in 1757. In 1762, we find him in the "Medical Commentaries," supporting his claim of priority in making numerous anatomical discoveries over that of Dr Monro Secundus, at that time professor of anatomy in the university of Edinburgh. It is not easy to adjust the claims of contemporary discoverers in numerous branches of science; and though, on this occasion, a wordy war of considerable length was waged concerning the real author of the great doctrine of the absorbent action of the lymphatic system, yet the disputants seem to have left the field, each dissatisfied with the conduct of his antagonist, and each equally confident of being entitled to the honour of being regarded as the real discoverer. It is not worth while to rake up the ashes of any such controversy; but it is no more than justice to assert, that Dr Hunter vindicated his claims in a manly and honourable tone, at the same time acknowledging that "the subject was an unpleasant one, and he was therefore seldom in the humour to take it up."

In 1762, when the queen became pregnant, Dr William Hunter was consulted, and two years afterwards had the honour to be appointed physician extraordinary to her majesty. We may now regard him as having attained the highest rank in his profession; and avocations necessarily increasing very considerably, he found himself under the necessity of taking an assistant, to relieve him from the fatigues to which he was now subjected. Accordingly he selected Mr Hewson, an industrious and accomplished young man, to be his assistant, and afterwards took him into partnership with him in his lectures. This connexion subsisted until the year 1770, when, in consequence of some misunderstanding, it was dissolved, and Cruickshank succeeded to the same situation. In the year 1767, Dr William Hunter became a fellow of the Royal Society, to which the following year he communicated his observations on the bones, commonly supposed to be elephants' bones, which were found near the river Ohio in America. At this period the attention of men of science had been directed to the large bones, tusks, and teeth, which had been found on the banks of the above river, and the



French Academicians came to the conclusion that they were, in all probability, the bones of elephants. From the different character of the jaw-bone, and other anatomical signs, Dr William Hunter, however, came to the conclusion that they did not belong to the elephant, but to an animal *incognitum*, probably the same as the mammoth of Siberia.<sup>3</sup> Nor was this the only subject of natural history on which Dr Hunter exercised his ingenuity, for in a subsequent volume of the transactions, we find him offering his remarks on some bones found in the rock of Gibraltar, which he proves to have belonged to some quadruped. Further, we find an account published by him of the Nylghau, an Indian animal not before described. Thus, amidst the anxious duties of that department of the profession in which he excelled, we find his active mind leading him into investigations on subjects of natural history, which are eminently interesting to all who delight in examining into the mysteries, and beauties, and past history of the surrounding world.

In the year 1768, Dr William Hunter became fellow of the society of arts, and the same year at the institution of an academy of arts, he was appointed by his majesty professor of anatomy. His talents were now directed into a new sphere of action; in which he engaged with unabated ardour and zeal. He studied the adaptation of the expression of anatomy to sculpture and painting, and his observations are said to have been characterized by much originality and just critical acumen.

In January, 1781, he was unanimously elected successor to Dr John Fothergill, as president of the Royal College of Physicians of London, the interests of which institution he zealously promoted. In 1780, the Royal Medical Society of Paris elected him one of their foreign associates, and in 1782 he received a similar mark of distinction from the Royal Academy of Sciences in that city. Thus, in tracing the life of this eminent physician, we find honour upon honour conferred upon him, in acknowledgment of the essential services which he rendered to the cause of science. But his *chef d'œuvre* yet remains to be noticed; it was consummated in the invaluable "Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus," one of the most splendid medical works of the age in which he lived. It was commenced in 1751, but not completed until 1775, owing to the author's desire to render it as complete as possible. It contains a series of thirty-four folio plates, from superior drawings of subjects and preparations, executed by the first artists, exhibiting all the principal changes which occur during the nine months of pregnancy. Here we find the first representation that was given of the retroverted uterus, and the membrana decidua reflexa discovered by himself. He did not live however to complete the anatomical description of the figures, which his nephew the late lamented Dr Baillie did in 1794.<sup>4</sup> He dedicated this valuable work to the king; and it needs only to be added, in testimony of merit, that notwithstanding the march of medical knowledge, it has not been superseded by any rival author. It remains now, and will go down to posterity, as a standard work complete in its designs, and admirable in its execution. But this was not the only service which Dr William Hunter rendered to the profession; it remains for us yet to record the circumstances under which he founded a museum which has justly called forth the admiration of every medical man by whom it has been visited. When Dr William Hunter began to reap the fruits of his professional skill and exertions, he determined on laying aside a fund from which he would derive support, if overtaken by the calamities of sickness, or the infirmities of age. This he very shortly accomplished; and it is said, that on one occasion he stated that having borrowed from this fund a sum to de-

<sup>3</sup> Philosophical Transactions, vol. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Anatomical Description of the Gravid Uterus and its contents, 1794.

fray some expenses of his museum, he felt very much dissatisfied and uneasy until it was replaced. His competency having been obtained, and his wealth continuing to accumulate, he formed a laudable design of founding a school of medicine, and for this purpose addressed a memorial to Mr Grenville, then minister, in which he requested the grant of a piece of ground in the Mews for the site of an anatomical theatre. He undertook to expend £7000 on the building, and to endow a professorship of anatomy in perpetuity; but the scheme did not meet the reception it deserved, and fell to the ground. It is said that the earl of Shelburne, afterwards in conversation with the learned doctor, expressed his approbation of the design, and desired his name to be put down as a subscriber for £1000. But Dr Hunter had now it would appear determined on other arrangements, having purchased a spot of ground in Great Windmill Street, which he determined to appropriate to the proposed use. He there built accordingly a house and anatomical theatre, and removed from Jernyn Street to these premises in 1770. Medical men engaged in active practice, who have a taste for the study of morbid anatomy, have little difficulty in obtaining specimens; and by his own exertions and those of his pupils, many of whom engaged zealously in the cause, he soon succeeded in bringing together a vast number of morbid preparations, to augment the number of which he purchased numerous collections that were at various times exposed to sale in London. The taste for collecting, which all acquire who commence founding a museum, "increased by what it fed on," and he now, in addition to the anatomical specimens, sought to accumulate fossils, curious books, coins—in short, whatever might interest either the man of letters, the physician, the naturalist, or the antiquary. We are informed that in respect to books he became possessed of "the most magnificent treasure of Greek and Latin books that has been accumulated since the days of Mead;"—furthermore, Mr Combe, a learned friend of the doctor's, published a description of part of the coins in the collection, under the following title:—"Nummorum Veterum Populorum et Urbium qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur, descriptio, figuris illustrata. In the preface to this volume, which is dedicated by Dr William Hunter to her majesty, some account is given of the progress of the collection, which had been accumulating since 1770, at an expense of upwards of £20,000. In 1781, a valuable addition to it was received, consisting of shells, corals, and other curious subjects of natural history, which had been collected by the late Dr Fothergill, who gave directions by his will that his collection should be appraised after his death, and that Dr William Hunter should have the refusal of it at £500. This was accordingly done, and Dr Hunter purchased it eventually for £1200. To complete the history of this museum, we may here add, that on the death of Dr William Hunter, he bequeathed it, under the direction of trustees, for the use of his nephew Dr Matthew Baillie, and in case of his death to Mr Cruickshank, for the term of thirty years, at the expiration of which it was to be transmitted to the university of Glasgow. The sum of £8000 was furthermore left as a fund for the support and augmentation of the collection, and each of the trustees was left £20 per annum for the term of thirty years—that is, during the period that they would be executing the purposes of the will. Before the expiration of the period assigned, Dr Baillie removed the museum to Glasgow, where it at present is visited by all who take an interest in medical or general science.

We have followed Dr William Hunter through the chief and most remarkable events by which his life was characterized, and now pausing to contemplate his having arrived at the summit of his ambition,—honoured by the esteem of his sovereign, complimented by foreign academies, and consulted by persons of all ranks—with an independence of wealth which left

him no desires for further accumulation of riches—we must acknowledge that the cup of human enjoyment, while it mantles to the brim, must still contain some bitter drop—that there is in this world no happiness without alloy. Ill health now preyed, with all its cankered evils, upon his constitution, and he meditated, indeed seriously made up his mind, to retire from the scenes of his former activity to his native country, where he might look back upon the vista of his past life and die in peace. With this view he requested his friends Dr Cullen and Dr Baillie to look out for a pleasant estate for him, which they did, and fixed on a spot in Annandale, which they recommended him to purchase. The bargain was agreed on, at least so it was concluded, but when the title deeds were submitted to examination they were found to be defective—and accordingly the whole project fell to the ground, for although harassed by ill health, Dr Hunter found that the expenses to support the museum were so enormous, that he preferred still remaining in his practice. He was at this time, dreadfully afflicted with gout, which at one time affected his limbs, at another his stomach, but seldom remained in one part many hours. Yet, notwithstanding this, his ardour and activity remained unabated;—but at length he could no longer baffle the destroying power which preyed upon his being. The attacks became more frequent, and on Saturday, March 15, 1783, after having for several days experienced a return of wandering gout, he complained of great headache and nausea, in which state he retired to bed, and felt for many days more pain than usual, both in his stomach and limbs. On the Thursday following, he found himself so much recovered, that he determined to give the introductory lecture to the operations of surgery, and it was to no purpose that his friends urged on him the impropriety of the attempt. Accordingly he delivered the lecture, but towards the conclusion, his strength became so much exhausted that he fainted, and was obliged to be carried by his servants out of the lecture room. We now approach the death-bed scene of this eminent man, and surely there can be no spectacle of deeper or more solemn interest than that presented by the dissolution of a man, who adorned by intellectual energy and power, the path which it was in this life his destiny to tread. The night after the delivery of the above lecture, and the following day, his symptoms became aggravated, and on Saturday morning he informed his medical adviser, Mr Combe, that he had during the night had a paralytic stroke. As neither his speech nor his pulse were affected, and as he was able to raise himself in bed, Mr Combe was in hopes that his patient was mistaken; but the symptoms that supervened indicated that the nerves which arise in the lumbar region had become paralyzed; for the organs to which they are distributed, lost the power of performing their functions. Accordingly he lingered with the symptoms, which in all similar cases exist, until Sunday the 30th March, when he expired. During his last moments he maintained very great fortitude and calmness, and it is reported that shortly before his death, he said, turning round to Mr Combe, “If I had strength enough to hold a pen I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die.” Such a sentiment as this, breathed by one under the immediate dominion of death, strikes us with peculiar wonder and awe, for it is seldom in such an hour that suffering humanity can command such stoical complacency. During the latter part of his illness, his brother John—with whom he had previously been on unfriendly terms—requested permission to attend him, and felt severely the parting scene. His remains were interred on the 5th April, in the rector’s vault of St James’s church, Westminster.

The lives of all eminent men may be viewed in a double relation,—they may be contemplated simply with a reference to their professional and public career—or they may be viewed in connexion with the character they have dis-

played in the retired paths of domestic life. It would appear that Dr Hunter devoted himself exclusively to the pursuits of his profession; nor did he contract any tie of a gentler and more endearing nature to bind him to the world.—His habits were temperate and frugal. When he invited friends to dine with him he seldom regaled them with more than two dishes, and he was often heard to say, that “a man who cannot dine on one dish deserves to have no dinner.” After the repast, the servant handed round a single glass of wine to each of his guests; which trifles show the economical disposition he possessed, and which enabled him to realize £70,000 for the purpose of completing a museum for the benefit of posterity. He was an early riser, and after his professional visits was to be found always occupied in his museum. He was in person “regularly shaped, but of slender make, and rather below the middle stature.” There are several good portraits of him, one of which is an unfinished painting by Toffany, which represents him in the act of giving a lecture on the muscles at the royal academy surrounded by a group of academicians. Another by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and of which a correct and elegant fac-simile is given in connexion with the present work, is preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow.

The professional character of Dr Hunter is deservedly held high in the estimation of all who are acquainted with the history of medicine. His anatomy of the Gravid Uterus is alone a monument of his ability; but, besides this, he made discoveries for which his name deserves the highest possible respect. His claims to being the discoverer of the origin and use of the lymphatic vessels were, it is true, warmly contested; but many who have taken pains to examine the merits of the controversy, among whom we may mention the celebrated Blumenbach, agree in awarding to him the honour of the discovery. He had the merit also of first describing the varicose aneurism, which he did in the *Observations and Inquiries* published by the Medical Society of London. His discovery and delineation of the *membrana decidua reflexa* in the retroverted uterus, deserves also honourable mention; in short, both the sciences of anatomy and midwifery were materially advanced by his labours. He was a good orator, and an able and clear lecturer; indeed the extent of his knowledge, more especially in physiology, enabled him to throw a charm of interest over the dry details of descriptive anatomy. His general knowledge was, as we have seen, very extensive; and his name and talents were respected in every part of Europe. Among the MSS. which he left behind him, were found the commencement of a work on biliary and urinary concretions, and two introductory lectures, one of which contains the history of anatomy from the earliest period down to the time when he wrote; also, considerations on the immediate connexion of that science with the practice of physic and surgery. Among other of his works, which are highly esteemed by the profession, we may notice his “*Essay on the Origin of the Venereal Disease*,” which he communicated to the Royal Society; and also his “*Reflections on the Symphysis Pubis*.”

By his will Dr Hunter bequeathed an annuity of £100 to his sister, Mrs Baillie, during her life, and the sum of £2000 to each of her daughters. The residue of his estate and effects went to his nephew.

We may conclude our memoir of this eminent physician by relating the following anecdote, which is said to have occurred in his visit to Scotland, before he had acquired the celebrity he so earnestly desired. As he and Dr Cullen were riding one day in a low part of the country, the latter pointed out to him his native place, Long Calderwood, at a considerable distance, and remarked how conspicuous it appeared. “Well,” said he, with some degree of energy, “if I live I shall make it more conspicuous.” We need not add any comment on his having lived to verify fully this prediction. Such are the achievements which

assiduity and perseverance are ever enabled to accomplish. The moral deducible from the lives of all eminent men teaches the same lesson.

JOHN HUNTER, younger brother of the preceding, was one of the most profound anatomists and expert surgeons of the age in which he lived. We have already seen how much his brother did to promote the interests of medical science, and we shall find in the sequel, that the subject of our present memoir accomplished still more, and attained even to a higher and prouder eminence, insomuch that his name is, as it were, consecrated in the history of his profession, and respected and esteemed by all who are in the slightest degree acquainted with the science. The exact date of his birth has been a subject of some dispute :—by Sir Everard Home it is placed in July 14, 1728 ; and this day has been celebrated as its anniversary by the College of Surgeons of London ;—Dr Adams, however, has dated it on the 13th of February, on the authority of the parish register shown to him by the Rev. James French, the minister of the parish. This evidence is sufficiently satisfactory ; and we, therefore, consider that the latter is the correct date of his birth. He was, as we have already stated, the youngest of the family, and born when his father had nearly reached the age of seventy. Being the youngest, he was a great favourite with both of his parents ; indeed, they allowed him to enjoy without restraint all the pleasures and pastimes which are the delight of early life, without imposing on him those tasks which are essential to an early and good education. Ten years after his birth his mother was left a widow, and he was then the only son at home, one or both of his sisters being now married. Herein, therefore, we may find every apology for the indulgence of his mother, who, doubtless, regarded him with an eye of no ordinary interest and affection. He was, accordingly, not sent to school until he had arrived at the age of seventeen, when he was placed at a grammar school—but not having the patience to apply himself to the cultivation of languages, and furthermore disliking the restraint to which he was subjected, he neglected his studies, and devoted the greater part of his time to country amusements. Numerous are the instances of men of genius, who, like Hunter, neglected their education in youth ; but who, subsequently, by assiduous application and diligence, recovered their lost time, and attained to high eminence. Such was the case with Horne Tooke, Dean Swift, and others, whose names are honourably recorded in the history of literature. Care ought to be taken, however, to impress it on the minds of youth, that the general rule is otherwise, and that early application is necessary in by far the majority of cases, to produce respectable attainments in mature life. About this time, Mr Buchanan, who had lately come from London to settle at Glasgow as a cabinet-maker, paid his addresses to Mr Hunter's sister Janet, and having many agreeable qualities she accepted his offer, and contrary to the advice of her relations, was married to him. Mr Buchanan was a man of agreeable and fascinating address, and, besides other pleasing and companionable qualities, displayed the accomplishments of a good singer ;—so that his company was continually in request, and he yielded too freely to the pleasures and festivities of society. His business being in consequence neglected, his circumstances became embarrassed, and John Hunter, who was now seventeen, went to Glasgow on a visit to his sister, for whom he had the greatest affection, to comfort her in her distress, and endeavour to assist in extricating her husband from the difficulties in which he was involved. There is a report that Mr Hunter was destined to be a carpenter, and one of his biographers ventures to affirm that “ a wheel-wright or carpenter he certainly was ;” however, the only ground for such a statement seems to have been, that when orders were pressing he occasionally did assist his brother-in-law, by working with him at his trade. The occupation of a carpenter is, in towns distant from the metropolis, often

combined with that of a cabinet maker;—and thence arose the report to which we have just alluded. His assistance could only have been very slight, and it being eventually impossible for Mr Buchanan to retrieve himself from his difficulties, he relinquished his business, and sought a livelihood by teaching music, besides which, he was appointed clerk to an Episcopal congregation. Thus the marriage of his sister, proved so far, in a worldly sense, unfortunate; and the predictions of her relations were too truly verified. Her brother John soon became tired of witnessing embarrassments he could not relieve, and finding that his sister preferred grieving over her sorrows alone, to allowing him to be the constant witness of her grief, he returned to Long Calderwood, after an absence which had so far had a beneficial effect on him, that it weaned him from home, reconciled his mother to his absence, and in all probability suggested to him reflections and motives for future activity, which never otherwise might have occurred. It is no wonder that the village amusements to which he had been accustomed, now lost their wonted charms;—it is no wonder that he felt restless and anxious to enter on some useful occupation, for already he had witnessed what were the bitter fruits of idleness and dissipation. He had often heard of his brother William's success in London, and he now wrote to him requesting permission to pay him a visit, at the same time offering to assist him in his anatomical labours;—and in case these proposals were not accepted, he expressed a wish to go into the army.

His brother William returned a very kind answer to his letter, and gave him an invitation to visit him immediately, which he cheerfully accepted, and accompanied by a Mr Hamilton who was going there on business, they rode together on horseback, and in September, 1748, he arrived in London. About a fortnight before the winter session of lectures for that year, his brother, anxious to form some opinion of his talents for anatomy, gave him an arm to dissect the muscles, with some necessary instructions for his guidance, and the performance, we are informed, greatly exceeded expectation. William now gave him a dissection of a more difficult nature,—an arm in which all the arteries were injected, and these as well as the muscles were to be exposed and preserved. His execution of this task gave his brother very great satisfaction, nor did he now hesitate to declare that he would soon become a good anatomist, and, furthermore, he promised that he should not want for employment. Here we may observe, that the manipulation in dissecting requires a species of tact, which, like many other acquirements, is best obtained in early life; and now under the instruction of his brother, and his assistant Mr Symonds, he had every opportunity for improvement, as all the dissections carried on in London at this time were confined to that school.

In the summer of 1749, the celebrated Cheselden, at the request of Dr Hunter, permitted John to attend at the Chelsea hospital, where he had ample opportunities for studying by the sick-bed, the progress and modifications of disease. At this time surgical pathology was in a rude state; and, among other absurd doctrines, the progress of ulceration was held to be a solution of the solid parts into pus, or matter. When the mind, however young, enters fresh and vigorous into the field of inquiry, untrammelled by early prejudices, it is apt to observe phenomena in new relations, and to discover glimmerings of paths which lead to the knowledge of unsuspected truths. Such, at this time, we may consider to have been the state of John Hunter's mind;—acute in all its perceptions; discriminate in all its observations; and free to embrace fearlessly whatever new theories his reflections might suggest. Here, therefore, in learning the first rudiments of surgery, he first began to suspect the validity of

the doctrines which were promulgated, which some few years afterwards, it was his good fortune to combat, and overthrow.

In the succeeding season, Mr Hunter was so far advanced in the knowledge of practical anatomy as to relieve his brother from the duty of attending in the dissecting-room. This now became the scene of the younger brother's employment during the winter months, whilst William confined himself to delivering lectures in the theatre. In the summer he resumed his attendance at the Chelsea hospital, and in the following year, 1751, he became a pupil at St Bartholomew's hospital, where he was generally present at the performance of the most remarkable operations. At this time Mr Pott was one of the senior surgeons at the latter institution, and no man operated more expertly, or lectured with better effect than he did; and although his pathological doctrines were subsequently, and with justice, arraigned by his present pupil, his name is nowhere mentioned by him but with the highest respect.

In the year 1753, Mr Hunter entered as a gentleman commoner in St Mary's Hall, Oxford; probably with the view of subsequently becoming a fellow of the College of Physicians. But his matriculation was not afterwards persevered in, and the following year he entered as surgeon's pupil at St George's hospital. His object in taking this step, which might appear to have been superfluous, is obvious. He desired to obtain the appointment of surgeon to some public hospital; and he well knew, that while his chance of success at Chelsea hospital was very remote, he was precluded from competing for the appointment at St Bartholomew's, from the circumstance of his not having served an apprenticeship to any surgeon of that hospital, a qualification expressly required by every candidate for that office. He accordingly calculated that the chances were more in his favour at St George's, where he hoped to obtain sufficient interest among the medical officers to facilitate his wishes. To this hospital he was, in two years afterwards, appointed house-surgeon. This, we may observe, is a temporary office, the person holding which may be regarded as a resident pupil, who resides in the house, and is expected to be always in readiness to attend to any accident that may be brought to the house, or may occur in the vicinity.

In the winter of 1755, he was admitted to a partnership in the lectures of his brother, a certain portion of the course being allotted to him, and he being required to lecture during the occasional absence of his colleague. Probably from the neglect of his early education he was little qualified to compete with his brother as a lecturer, a task he always performed with very great difficulty. For making dissections, and anatomical preparations, he was unrivalled in skill; and this was of no mean importance when we remember, that this art was at that time very little known, and that such exhibitions were of great utility during the public lecture. "Mr Hunter worked for ten years," says Sir Everard Home, "on human anatomy, during which period he made himself master of what was already known, as well as made some addition to that knowledge. He traced the ramifications of the olfactory nerves upon the membranes of the nose, and discovered the course of some of the branches of the fifth pair of nerves. In the gravid uterus, he traced the arteries of the uterus to their termination in the placenta. He was also the first who discovered the existence of the lymphatic vessels in birds." The difficulty of unraveling all the complex parts of the human frame, induced him to extend his inquiries, and examine into the structure of the inferior animals, nature having, as Dr Jeoffroy St Hilaire has more recently demonstrated, preserved one type in the organization of all animate beings. He applied to the keeper of the tower, and the men who are the proprietors of the menageries of wild beasts, for the bodies of the animals which

died under their care, besides which he purchased such rare animals as came in his way, and many were presented to him by his friends, which he very judiciously intrusted to the showmen to keep until they died, the better to secure their interest in assisting him in his labours.

Ill health is too often the penalty of unremitting application, and Mr Hunter's health now became so much impaired by excessive attention to his pursuits, that in the year 1760, when he had just completed his thirty-second year, he became affected by symptoms which appeared to threaten consumption, and for which a milder climate was deemed advisable.

In October, 1760, he was appointed by Mr Adair, surgeon on the staff, and the following spring he embarked with the army for Belleisle, leaving Mr Hewson to assist his brother during his absence. Both in Belleisle and Portugal he served as senior surgeon on the staff, until the year 1763, and during this period amassed the materials for his valuable work on gun-shot wounds. Nor is this all; taking advantage of the opportunities presented to him, he examined the bodies of many of the recently killed, with the view of tracing the health, structures of certain parts, as well as the nature of particular secretions. After the peace in 1763, Mr Hunter returned to England, "which," says one of his biographers, "I have often heard him say he had left long enough to be satisfied, how preferable it is to all other countries."

Mr Hewson had now supplied the place of Mr Hunter in superintending dissections and assisting in the anatomical theatre during the space of two years, and it was scarcely to be expected that he would resume his connexion with his brother. During his absence, the interest he had previously acquired in the profession, naturally became diminished; for it is the fate of all who are either by necessity or choice induced to leave their native country, to find on their return, the friendship of some alienated, and that death, or worldly circumstances have compelled others to leave the circle of their former acquaintance. Here then we find Mr Hunter at the age of thirty-six, with very limited means, and with few friends, settling in London to commence the great professional struggle which all are destined to encounter who enter on this particular path of life, which is generally found to be crowded with competitors whom good fortune has already signalized with success. Scarcely can any situation of greater anxiety be conceived, than that of an able and active-minded man sitting down to practise medicine in a city in which he is comparatively a stranger, and which is already supplied with numerous rival practitioners, on whom the public has already pronounced a favourable verdict. Such at this time was the position of Mr Hunter, as one of his biographers simply but emphatically expresses it, "the practice of surgery now and for a long time afterwards afforded no *opening* for him; Hawkins, Bunfield, Sharpe, Potter, embraced almost the whole of family practice, whilst Adair and Tomkins carried from him the chief of the practice derived from the army." Disheartening, and indeed gloomy as these prospects now were, he returned with unabated ardour to his scientific pursuits, and laid the foundation of that eminence which he afterwards attained. If the difficulties of this world be met with philosophy, and with a firm resolution to overcome them, they may generally be surmounted, and they then leave the moral victor both the wiser and the happier for the conflict. So was it with John Hunter, who, finding the emoluments from his half-pay and private practice insufficient to support him, determined on teaching practical anatomy and operative surgery. With the pecuniary means which he was thus enabled to raise, he purchased about two miles from London a piece of ground near Brompton, at a place called Earl's Court, and there built a house for the purpose of experiments, which he could not carry on successfully in a large town.



Here, in the course of his inquiries he made several important discoveries. He ascertained the changes which animal and vegetable substances undergo in the stomach, when acted on by the gastric juice; he also, by feeding animals with madder, which tinges growing bones with a red colour, discarded the principles observable in the growth of bones; and, furthermore, succeeded in explaining the process by which a dead piece is separated from the living bone. During his absence from England, his name had in some degree been kept up before the attention of the public, by his brother's essays in the *Medical Commentaries*, where we find several allusions to his experiments and observations. In consequence of these scientific researches, while he was yet, as a practitioner, overlooked by the public, the Royal Society, much to its honour, elected him a fellow, in which title he preceded his brother, who was ten years older, and had been known ten years earlier in the metropolis. The adjudgment of this honour, and the recognition of the merit which it necessarily carried along with it, must in Mr Hunter's circumstances, have been to him peculiarly gratifying. It was to him a proud incentive to further exertion; and a strong inducement to bear up against the difficulties, which, as we have explained, at this time retarded his professional advancement.

The love of science leads us at all times to resources which lie beyond the neglect and injustice of the world, and the mind of Hunter, untutored as it was in early life, now sought relief, occupation, and improvement in the paths which it opened up. Among other instructive amusements, he engaged in watching the peculiar habits and instincts of various animals, for which purpose he kept several, which should have been domiciled in menageries, in his own house. Sir Everard Home relates the following anecdote: "two leopards which were left chained in an out-house, had broken from their confinement and got into the yard among some dogs, which they immediately attacked; the howling this produced alarmed the whole neighbourhood. Mr Hunter ran into the yard to see what was the matter, and found one of them climbing up the wall to make his escape, the other surrounded by the dogs; he immediately laid hold of them both and carried them back to their den. But as soon as they were secured, and he had time to reflect on the risk of his own situation, he was so much agitated that he was in danger of fainting." Incredible as to some this anecdote may appear, we hesitate not to accord our implicit belief, knowing how remarkable a control men have exercised even over the most savage animals, when themselves actuated by great courage and strong power of resolution.

This year, by a strong exertion in dancing, Mr Hunter unfortunately broke the tendo Achillis, (the strong and broad tendon felt at the back of the foot,) in consequence of which he introduced an improvement on the mode of treating this accident, which was superior to that recommended by Dr Alexander Munro, who had himself at a more advanced period of life experienced a similar misfortune.

We have no account from Sir Everard Home of Mr Hunter's town residence until his brother, having completed his house in Windmill Street, assigned over to him the lease of his house in Jermyn Street. It is presumed by one of his biographers, that on his first arrival in London he lodged, for the purpose of being near to his brother's dissecting rooms, in Covent Garden, and another informs us that on his return from abroad he resided in Golden Square. Be this as it may, he appears to have lived in Jermyn Street until the expiration of the lease in 1783, a period of fifteen years. Whatever may have been the slight difference which existed between him and his brother, the latter appears still to have interested himself in his welfare, as we find that, chiefly through his

interest, he was, in 1768, (on the authority of Dr Symmons,) elected surgeon to St George's hospital. He had now acquired the desired means for giving his talents and industry full scope; for, as fellow of the Royal Society, he gained the earliest notice of every scientific discovery and improvement which might take place in Europe; and as surgeon to this hospital, he had the means of extending his observations, and confirming his pathological doctrines. His whole time was now devoted to the examination of facts, and the patient accumulation of such knowledge as he could gradually attain; nor did he, as many others have done, captivated by love of fame, rush prematurely before the notice of the public. "With the exception," says one of his biographers "of what was published in his name by his brother William, in the year 1764, there does not appear to be any thing by John up to the year 1772. If there were any publications, they must have terminated like many more by others; they must have experienced the fate of abortions, or at least I know nothing of them." Herein he showed very considerable wisdom, and well would it have been for many authors, had they, like John Hunter, persevered even in obscurity in maturing their knowledge before surrendering themselves to a tribunal, whose verdict will always in the end be found to have been dictated by the severest and most rigid principles of justice.

The surgeons of most of the public hospitals in this country have the privilege of selecting, on their own terms, house-pupils, who reside with them a year or two after the completion of their education. Among many who became pupils of John Hunter, and afterwards acquired celebrity in their profession, we may notice the famous Dr Jenner, who boarded in his house in 1770 and 1771, and lived in habits of intimacy with him until his death. "In every conversation" says a friend of Dr Jenner's "as well as in a letter I received from him, he spoke with becoming gratitude of his friend and master." Even the slightest recollection, or testimony of esteem, from such a man as Dr Jenner, in favour or illustration of the character of John Hunter must be received with interest. In 1771, Mr Hunter published the first part of his Treatise on the Teeth, a very valuable work, the merit of which has not been surpassed by any later production. It may be observed *en passant*, that this was the only work he sold to the booksellers, all his others being published on his own account, or communicated to miscellaneous collections, chiefly periodicals. Between the appearance of the first and second part of his treatise, Dr Fothergill published his paper on that painful affection of the facial nerve, denominated *Tic Douloureux*.

While thus rising in eminence, Mr Hunter became attached to the daughter of Mr Boyne Home, surgeon of Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, who was also the father of the celebrated Sir Everard Home. The young lady received his addresses favourably; but the feelings of human nature, impassioned as they may be, must succumb to the cold reality of worldly circumstances; wherefore, their marriage was necessarily delayed until he had obtained a sufficient competency to maintain her in that rank of society, which for their mutual happiness was desirable. When the passions are staked on the success of such an attachment, and are in fact concentrated in the welfare of a being so chosen, disappointment annihilates all moral energy, and reduces the prospects of life into painful ruin;—but when hope is allowed to feed itself on encouragement, and the future alliance definitively fixed, there is an object for exertion;—a stimulus to action which will not allow of rest, until the means of gaining the promised end have been accomplished. This John Hunter appears to have duly felt, and his exertions therefore were correspondingly increased; and during this time, when he could suspend his professional and scientific toils, nothing gave him greater

gratification than the pleasure of enjoying her society. "The expenses of his pursuits," says Sir Everard Home, "had been so great, that it was not for some years after his first engagement with this lady, that his affairs could be sufficiently arranged to admit of his marriage. This happy period at length arrived, and he was married to Miss Home in 1771."

"Whilst he was paying," continues Sir Everard, "his addresses to my sister, I was a boy at Westminster school. During the holidays I came home, and Mr Hunter, who was frequently there, always showed me particular kindness; he made my father an offer to bring me up to his profession, a proposal which I readily accepted. I was struck with the novelty and extent of his researches, had the highest respect and admiration for his talents, and was ambitious to tread the paths of science under so able a master."

The year after his marriage, at the request of Sir John Pringle, he read to the Royal Society a communication showing that after death the gastric juice has the power of dissolving the coats of the stomach. This paper he was persuaded to read to the society, before he had entirely completed the investigations which he further meditated;—but it appears that he did not afterwards return to the subject, considering that the fact on which any further inquiries might be formed had been sufficiently demonstrated.

In the winter of 1773, he formed a plan for giving a course of lectures on the theory and principles of surgery, with the view of vindicating his own principles, which he frequently heard misquoted or ascribed to others, and of teaching them systematically. The first two winters, he read his lectures gratis to the pupils of St George's hospital, and the winter following charged the usual terms of other teachers in medicine and surgery. "For this, or for continuing them," says one of his biographers, "there could be no pecuniary motive. As he was under the necessity of hiring a room and lecturing by candle light, his emoluments must have been trifling. The lectures not being considered a part of medical education, his class was usually small; and of the few that heard him, the greater part acknowledged their difficulty in understanding him, which was often proved by their incapacity of keeping up their attention. The task itself was so formidable to him, that he was obliged to take thirty drops of laudanum before he entered the theatre at the beginning of each course. Yet he certainly felt great delight in finding himself understood, always waiting at the close of each lecture to answer any questions; and evincing evident satisfaction when those questions were pertinent, and he perceived that his answers were satisfactory and intelligible." In addition to this, Sir Everard Home, after stating the fact of his having recourse to laudanum—the elixir vitæ of the opium eater—"to take off the effects of uneasiness," adds, "he trusted nothing to memory, and made me draw up a short abstract of each lecture, which he read on the following evening, as a recapitulation to connect the subjects in the minds of the students." Amidst all his avocations, both as a lecturer and practitioner, he still pursued with an unabated zeal and industry his researches into comparative anatomy. No opportunity for extending his knowledge on this interesting department of science did he permit to escape him. In the year 1773, at the request of Mr Walsh, he dissected the torpedo, and laid before the Royal Society an account of its electrical organs. A young elephant which had been presented to the queen by Sir Robert Barker, and died, afforded him an opportunity of examining the structure of that animal; after which two other elephants in the queen's menagerie likewise died, which he also carefully dissected. The year following, 1774, he published in the *Philosophical Transactions* an account of certain receptacles of air in birds, showing how these communicate with the lungs and are lodged in the fleshy parts, and in the bones of these animals; likewise

a paper on the gillaroo trout, commonly called in Ireland the gizzard trout. In 1775, several animals of the species called the *gymnotus electricus* of Surinam, were brought alive into this country, and by the curious phenomena they exhibited the attention of the scientific world was greatly excited. After making numerous experiments on the living animals, Mr Walsh purchased those which died, and gave his friend Mr Hunter an opportunity of examining them. This he readily accepted, and drew up an account of their electrical organs, which he published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. In the same volume of that valuable work will be found his paper containing experiments respecting the powers of animals and vegetables in producing heat. Thus, in the paths of natural history did he find a recreation from the more serious, and often irksome duties of his profession;—and by his skilful dissections, and acute observations, enriched our knowledge in this interesting and fascinating department of science. While thus engaged, Mr Hunter found a great difficulty in showing to advantage the natural appearances of many parts of animals which he wished to be preserved. In some instances the minute vessels could not be seen when the preparation was immersed in spirits; in others, the natural colour of the parts preserved, and even the character of the surface, faded and underwent a change after being some time immersed in this liquid,—a circumstance which, to this day, diminishes very much the value of almost all the morbid preparations which are preserved in private and public museums. The only method, therefore, of accomplishing the object he had in view, was to have them carefully and correctly drawn at the time of the dissection. The expense of engaging draftsmen, the difficulty of procuring them, and above all their ignorance of the subject to be delineated, were considerable objections to their employment. Accordingly, he engaged a young and talented artist named Bell, to live with him for ten years, during which period it was agreed that he should be employed both as a draftsman and in making anatomical preparations. This young man soon imbibed the spirit of his master; he worked assiduously with his knife, his forceps, and his pencil; he engaged himself during part of his time in copying out Mr Hunter's lectures, and in less than ten years became a skilful anatomist and surgeon. By his labours, Mr Hunter's collection became enriched with many very accurate and spirited drawings; and a variety of curious and delicate anatomical preparations. This skilful artist, by the interest of his friend Sir Joseph Banks, obtained the appointment of assistant surgeon in the honourable East India Company for the settlement of Bencoolen in Sumatra, whither he set out with the view both of improving his fortune, and collecting specimens of natural history. He was in both successful beyond his most sanguine expectations. He sent home some very rare specimens of animals and corals, and two papers since published in the *Philosophical Transactions*,—one giving a description of the double horned rhinoceros, and the other of an uncommonly formed fish. Unfortunately for the cause of science, he died of fever in 1792, being one of the many who have been summoned from this world, amidst early promises of future excellence and success.

In January, 1776, Mr Hunter was appointed surgeon extraordinary to his majesty,—an honour which contributed still farther to advance his professional interests. About this time the attention of the public was much directed to the efforts of the Humane Society. Dr Cogan was the first who introduced the subject from Holland; and after him, Dr Hawes did not suffer it to rest until it experienced the royal patronage. Here again we find Mr Hunter zealously engaged in endeavouring to ascertain the best mode of restoring apparently drowned persons, the consequence of which was the production of a paper which he read to the Royal Society, entitled “Proposals for the Recovery of Persons apparently

**Drowned.** The able author of this paper draws the distinction between the mere suspension of the functions by which life is supported, and absolute death, which he illustrates by reference to various animals, in whom, under certain conditions, the actions of life are temporarily suspended. It further contains a description of the signs of life and death, which are of vast importance; indeed, notwithstanding the progress that has since been made, both in Germany and Britain, in medical jurisprudence, this paper contains information which has by no means been superseded.

In the autumn of this year, Mr Hunter was taken extremely ill, and the nature of his complaints induced both his friends and himself to apprehend that his life was in imminent danger. However, the anticipated calamity was averted; he rallied, and was restored to his friends and the public, to whom his subsequent services were of such vast importance. When on his sick bed, he reflected on his own worldly affairs, such as he was about to leave them;—he perceived that all his fortune had been expended in his pursuits; that his family had no provision excepting what might arise from the sale of his collection; and he naturally, on this account, suffered much solicitude and anxiety. No sooner did he leave his sick chamber, than he commenced arranging his collection, so that it might, in whatever event, command its value, and with this view he began to make a catalogue of the collection; but the delicacy of his health obliged him to desist from his labours, and persuaded by his friends and relatives, he retired for a time to Bath. During his absence, Mr Everard Home was employed to draw out descriptions of the preparations, leaving blanks for those with which he was unacquainted. His complaints were considerably ameliorated by his residence at Bath; and though he returned to town before he was quite convalescent, he continued to amend, and was soon recovered.

In 1778, he published the second part of his *Treatise on the Teeth*, and also, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, a paper on the heat of animals and vegetables. "I had now," says Sir Everard Home, "lived six years with Mr Hunter and completed my education: his expenses had always exceeded his income. I had therefore no emolument to expect from remaining in his house, which made it necessary for me to take up some line for my own support, and admiral Keppel's action with the French fleet was the means of procuring me a very eligible situation."

Thus Mr Hunter was now deprived of the valuable assistance of his former pupil. And here we may pause to observe, both from the reflections which he made during his late illness, and the statement of Sir E. Home, that his expenditure had always exceeded his income, how slow are the emoluments of men whose scientific labours are nevertheless an advantage and honour to their country. Mr Hunter had now arrived at the age of fifty years, thirty of which had been devoted to his profession; he had been eleven years member of the Royal Society, and nine years an hospital surgeon;—he was respected and esteemed by the most accomplished men of science, and his claims to honourable distinction recognized by the nobility and by royalty itself; but still his pecuniary circumstances were at so low an ebb, that, had he died during his late illness, his wife and children would have been left comparatively destitute. His expenses do not appear to have been great; his family had increased, but only two survived, and these were still of an age to be little expensive; his own personal expenses were not considerable; and yet five years after this period (says one of his biographers), when he purchased a leasehold in Leicester Square, he assured us that he was under the necessity of mortgaging before he could pay for it, and for some time afterwards he used to regret that all he could collect in fees "went to carpenters and bricklayers;

whilst the sum expended was scarcely sufficient to furnish the library of a literary character." But the calamities and poverty of men of genius are so proverbial, that the hand of humanity willingly draws a veil over their sufferings; and yet there is something higher than riches to be obtained in this world, and amidst all the difficulties he has to encounter, happy is he who can command the power of contributing even in the slightest degree to the well-being and happiness of the human race. It is this high hope, this internal moral conviction, which always has, and ever will support genius along the difficult and thorny track which it is ever its destiny to tread.<sup>1</sup> In 1780, Mr Hunter laid before the Royal Society an account of a woman who had the small pox during pregnancy, and in whom the disease seems to have been communicated to the fœtus. The following year he was elected fellow of the Royal Society of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Gottenburg.

During this period, he read before the Royal Society many valuable communications; among which we may notice, a paper on the Organ of Hearing in Fish, and six Croonian lectures on Muscular Motion. In these lectures he collected all the observations that had been made on the muscles, respecting their powers and effects, and the stimuli by which they are excited; and to these he added comparative observations concerning the moving powers of plants; but these lectures were not published in the Philosophical Transactions, as they were not considered by the author to be sufficiently complete dissertations.

Sir Everard Home informs us, that in the year 1783, Mr Hunter was chosen into the Royal Society of Medicine and Royal Academy of Surgery in Paris. In this year, continues the same writer, the lease of his house in Jermyn Street expired, and his collection being now too large to be contained in his dwelling house, he purchased the lease of a large house on the east side of Leicester Square, and the whole lot of ground extending to Castle Street, in which there was another house. In the middle space between the two houses he erected a building for his collection. Upon this building he expended above three thousand pounds, and, unfortunately for his family, the lease did not extend beyond twenty-four years. \* \* \* \* "During the execution of this extensive plan I returned to England from Jamaica, where, at the close of the war, I had been appointed staff surgeon. \* \* \* I found Mr Hunter now advanced to a considerable practice, and a still greater share of public confidence. His collection had increased with his income. In this he was materially assisted by his friendship with Sir Joseph Banks, who not only allowed him to take any of his own specimens, but procured him every curious animal production in his power, and afterwards divided between him and the British Museum all the specimens of animals he had collected in his voyage round the world. Drawing materials from such ample sources, standing alone in this branch of science, and high in the public estimation, he had so much attention paid to him, that no new animal was brought to this country which was not shown to him; many were given to him, and of those which were for sale he had commonly the refusal; under these circumstances his collection made a progress which would otherwise have been impossible. In April, 1785, his new rooms were completed, and I devoted the whole of the summer to the object of assisting him in moving his preparations, and arranging them in their proper order."<sup>2</sup>

The surgical practice of Mr Hunter now daily increased, and he performed

<sup>1</sup> *Vile Exposition of the false medium and barrier excluding men of genius from the public.* London, Effingham Wilson, 1833.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of John Hunter by Sir Everard Home, prefixed to his Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun shot wounds.*

with great skill and judgment numerous operations, which were at that time new in the art of surgery; but whatever may have been the multiplicity of his professional engagements, his mind was still devoted to effecting improvements in medical education, and with this view, assisted by his friend the celebrated Dr Fordyce, he instituted a medical society, called the *Lyceum Medicum Londinense* the meetings of which were held in his own lecture-rooms, and which acquired no inconsiderable reputation, both from the numbers and character of its members. Institutions of this kind have been of eminent importance in fostering and eliciting talents that have done honour to medical science; and this under the patronage it enjoyed did not fail to flourish.

In the year 1786, in consequence of the death of Mr Middleton, Mr Hunter was appointed deputy surgeon general to the army; shortly after which he published his work on the venereal disease, and another entitled "*Observations on certain parts of the Animal Economy*;" both which works rank high in the estimation of the profession. Sir Everard Home mentions the curious fact, that he chose to have his works printed and published in his own house, but "finding," he adds, "this measure to bear hard upon the booksellers in a way which had not been explained, and which was not intended, the second editions were sold by Mr Johnson in St Paul's Church-yard, and Mr Nicoll, Pall Mall." In the spring of this year he had another very severe illness, which confined him to bed, and rendered him incapable of any kind of business. "In this state," says his biographer, "I was obliged to take upon myself the charge of his patients, as well as of his other affairs; and these were so extensive, that my residence in his house became absolutely necessary. His recovery was very slow, and his health received so severe a shock, that he was never afterwards entirely free from complaint or capable of his usual bodily exertion. After his recovery from this illness, he was subjected to affections of the heart upon every occasion which agitated his mind. In this infirm state he was unable to attend patients upon sudden calls in the night, or to perform operations without assistance; and for these years I continued to live with him until within a year of his death, and then took a house within a few doors, which, in no respects detached me from his pursuits, or prevented me from taking a part in his private practice. The uncertainty of the continuance of life under this affection; the mental agitation, and frequent depression with which it is almost invariably attended, render the victims of such generally anxious and unhappy; the canker worm is felt to be preying within the living frame, and there is no hope of restoration to permanent health. But notwithstanding all this, his energies remained unabated, and he still toiled with his wonted alacrity in the pursuit of knowledge. In the year 1787, he submitted to the Royal Society a paper giving an account of the experiment he had made to determine the effect of extirpating one ovarium, on the number of the young; also another communication, in which he proves the wolf, jackall, and dog to be of the same species; and another on the anatomy of the whale tribe. In return for these labours, having been twelve years a fellow, he received the gold Copleyan medal. Distinctions of this kind, although abstractly no stimulus to men who are actuated by higher motives in pursuit of knowledge, when conferred on men of such eminent abilities, not only do honour to the individual to whom they are presented, but to the institution by which they are awarded; and certainly, on reviewing the labours of John Hunter, there was perhaps no man who ever lived, better entitled to this honour. In the July of this year, he was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society; and the same year, on account of his continued ill health, he applied to the governors of St George's hospital to allow him an assistant surgeon, to which request they readily acceded; and Sir

Everard Home was appointed to the office. In the year 1789, he succeeded Mr Adair as inspector general of hospitals, and surgeon general of the army, and about the same time was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland.

In the year 1792, Mr Hunter found that the period which he allotted to lecturing interfered so much with his other avocations, that he gave his materials for the lectures into the hands of Sir Everard Home, who relieved him of this duty. He now therefore began to prepare for the press his "Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-shot wounds," the data for which he had been collecting for many years. In his dedication to the king, he states that his appointment as surgeon on the staff in the expedition against Belleisle afforded him the opportunities of attending to gun-shot wounds, of seeing the errors and defects in that branch of military surgery, and of studying to remove them. He further adds, that it drew his attention to inflammation in general, and enabled him to make the observations which form the bases of that doctrine, which has since his time excited so much controversy among physiologists. By a series of very interesting experiments, and by a very ingenious mode of reasoning, he came to the conclusion maintained by this doctrine, which holds, that the blood as existing in its fluid state is alive, and that its death causes the changes which are observed to take place when it is abstracted from the body. In the Old Testament we read, "ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh; for the life of all flesh is the blood," (Levit. xvii. 14.) The same doctrine too seems promulgated in the Alcoran—and appears to have been maintained by the celebrated Harvey;—but notwithstanding these facts, there is no reason to presume that the idea was plagiarized by John Hunter: on the contrary, his opinion was with him original, inasmuch as it was elicited by the experiments which he himself performed. This would by no means be an appropriate place to discuss the general merits of this physiological doctrine; but we do not err in stating that it is supported by very plausible evidence, and is maintained by many eminent men of science. The nature and seat of the living principle which raises man above the inanimate beings by which he is surrounded, is manifestly beyond the reach of human investigation; but it must be satisfactory to those who have not time nor inclination even to examine the evidence which has been on either side adduced, to find, that such men as John Hunter and Abernethy recognized the existence of something beyond the mere mechanism of the human frame; that they in their acute reasonings urged the existence of an internal and self-sustaining principle, which modifies the different conditions of matter, and must be therefore superior to its decay.

In the year 1792, Mr Hunter was elected an honorary member of the Chirurgical-Physical Society of Edinburgh, and likewise connected himself with the Veterinary College, then just projected in London. "The origin of this institution," says Dr Adams, "was at Odiham in Hampshire; the Agricultural Society of which had offered a premium for the best account of the glanders. Mr Sergeant Bell was the fortunate candidate, and the society was so well pleased with his piece, that in a little time after, a Veterinary College was projected, over which that gentleman should preside. As soon as the proposal was known to Mr Hunter he eagerly joined it, urging the advantages which might be derived from it, not only to quadrupeds, but to man, by extending our knowledge of physiology and more especially of pathology. In order to forward the plan, several gentlemen, the duke of Bedford at their head, deposited £500 on the chance of its being never returned. Mr Hunter was one of the number. It was proposed that he should examine Mr Sergeant Bell, to which he readily assented. It will easily be conceived by those who are not at all acquainted



with the continental pathology of those days, that the examination proved unsatisfactory. Mr Hunter would have gladly introduced another gentleman; but this did not at all lessen his zeal in promoting the object of the institution." Such was the origin of his connexion with the London Veterinary College, of which he now became one of the vice-presidents.

In the transactions of the Society for improving Medical Knowledge, of which Mr Hunter was one of the original and most zealous members, he published about this period papers on the Treatment of Inflamed Veins, on Introsusception, and on a mode of conveying food into the stomach in cases of paralysis of the œsophagus. He likewise finished his Observations on the Economy of Bees, and presented them to the Royal Society. These observations he finished at Earl's Court, which was his place of retirement from the toils of his profession, but by no means a retreat from those intellectual labours which diversified the whole tenor of his life. "It was there," says Sir Everard Home, "he carried on his experiments on digestion, on exfoliation, on the transplanting of teeth into the combs of cocks, and all his other investigations on the animal economy, as well in health as in disease. The common bee was not alone the subject of his observation, but the wasp, hornet, and the less known kinds of bees were also objects of his attention. It was there he made the series of preparations of the external and internal changes of the silk worm; also a series of the incubation of the egg, with a very valuable set of drawings of the whole series. The growth of vegetables was also a favourite subject of inquiry, and one on which he was always engaged making experiments. In this retreat he had collected many kinds of animals and birds, and it was to him a favourite amusement in his walks to attend to their actions and to their habits, and to make them familiar with him. The fiercer animals were those to which he was most partial, and he had several of the bull kind from all parts of the world. Among these was a beautiful small bull he had received from the queen, with which he used to wrestle in play, and entertain himself with its exertions in its own defence. In one of these contests the bull overpowered him and got him down, and had not one of the servants accidentally come by, and frightened the animal away, his frolic would probably have cost him his life."<sup>3</sup> The pleasure which a man of high intellectual endowments, and refined sensibility, takes in watching the habits, and in a manner sympathizing with the feelings exhibited by the lower classes of animals, constitutes one of the most amiable and noble features which his disposition can portray, and doubtless must give rise to some of the finest and most generous feelings of which human nature is susceptible. Man is in all cases the representative, or rather the repetition of mere man, and in the sufferings of one of his own species he sees reflected as in a mirror the miseries he himself may possibly have to endure; wherefore the chords of pity are by a latent feeling of self-interest vibrated, and he enters into commiseration with his fellow man; but to extend his thoughts and feelings beyond the possible range of his own experience to the commonly despised, or perhaps maltreated lower animals, manifests a high and generous tone of feeling independent of all such collateral selfishness, and in perfect consonance with the most elevated principles of Christian philosophy. Here then we have before us the instance of a philosopher whose profound knowledge had already, in no trifling degree, contributed to the advancement of science and the benefit of the human race, familiarizing himself, and with child-like simplicity playing, with animals, which, although of a lower order of classification, possess senses as acute, feelings as strong, and necessities as urgent as our own, and which by their complex and equally perfect organization, prove themselves to be as much the subjects of divine care,—and

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

in their own spheres as important in carrying out and completing the great scheme of the universe.

We have thus already traced the life of John Hunter from youth to middle age; from obscurity to eminence; from adversity to prosperity; and it remains for us now to notice those accessions of disease which rendered the tenure of his life one of extreme uncertainty. We have already stated that in the spring of 1769, he was confined to bed by a serious illness,—an acute attack of gout, which returned the three following springs, but not the fourth. In the spring of 1773, he became affected with very severe spasmodic symptoms, owing to disease of the heart. His next illness took place in 1776, and this appears to have been occasioned by inflammation in the arteries of the brain, which gave rise to morbid appearances that were recognized after death. It is said that this attack was occasioned by mental anxiety, arising from the circumstance of his being obliged to pay a large sum of money for a friend for whom he had become security, and which his circumstances rendered extremely inconvenient. After, on this occasion, taking certain refreshments, and feeling relieved, he ventured on attempting a journey of eight miles in a post-chaise; but he became so much worse that he was obliged to go to bed, and was afterwards brought home in a post-chaise. The determination of blood to the head, in particular, gave rise to many very remarkable symptoms. When he went to bed he felt giddy, and experienced a sensation of being suspended in the air. This latter painful feeling increased. The least motion of his head upon the pillow seemed to be so great that he scarcely dared attempt it. If he but moved his head half round, it appeared to be moving from him with great velocity. The idea he had of his own size was that of being only two feet long; and when he drew up his foot or pushed it down, it seemed to be moving a vast way. His sensations became extremely acute or heightened; he could not bear the least light, a curtain and blanket were obliged to be hung up before it, and the bed curtains closely drawn. He kept his eyes firmly closed, but if a candle was only passed across the room he could not bear it. His hearing was also painfully acute; as was likewise his sense of smell and of taste; every thing he put into his mouth appearing of a higher flavour than natural. After being bled, and subjected to other reducing treatment, he recovered from this severe attack; but his constitution had received a shock, which nothing could surmount. An organic disease lurked within, which every excitement would aggravate, if not lead to direct and suddenly fatal consequences. He had no particular illness, however, from this period until 1785, “although,” says Sir Everard Home, “he appeared much altered in his looks, and gave the idea of being much older than could be accounted for from the number of years which had elapsed.” The physiognomy of death is often impressed on the features of the living, for some time before the fatal event occurs which severs them from their relations with the world. So was it with John Hunter;—but in the beginning of the April of this latter year, he became attacked with a dreadfully severe spasmodic disease, which, like his similar attacks, was induced by mental anxiety. His feet, his hands, and then his chest became successively affected; and in effect the extension of the spasm became so considerable that he repeatedly swooned. “I was with him,” says his accomplished brother-in-law, “during the whole of this attack, and never saw any thing equal to the agonies which he suffered; and when he fainted away I thought him dead, as the pain did not seem to abate, but to carry him off, having first completely exhausted him.” Such were the intense sufferings he endured: nevertheless, he rallied, and partially recovered, nor did any thing of the kind particularly recur until the December of 1789, when at the house of a friend he became afflicted by a total loss of

memory. He did not know in what part of the town he was; nor even the name of the street when told it; nor where his own house was, nor had he any conception of any place existing beyond the room he was in, yet in the midst of all this was he perfectly conscious of the loss of memory. He was sensible of impressions of all kinds from the senses, and therefore looked out of the window, although rather dark, to see if he could be made sensible of the situation of the house; at length this loss of memory gradually went off, and in less than half an hour his memory was perfectly recovered. About a fortnight afterwards when visiting a patient, an attack, somewhat of a similar nature recurred; and during this illness he was attended by Dr Pitcairn and Dr Baillie. Amidst all the diseases and sufferings to which the living body is subjected, the changes which in an especial manner affect the mind, are interesting to all—whether professional or non-professional. His mental impressions during this attack were lively, indeed, often disagreeably so. His dreams had so much the strength of reality that they often awakened him; but the remembrance of them remained perfect.

“The sensation,” says Sir Everard Home, “which he had in his head was not pain, but rather so unnatural as to give him the idea of having no head. The organs of sense (as in the former illness,) were painfully acute. He could not endure the light; and every thing had a yellow cast. Sounds were louder than natural, and every object had lost its true direction, leaning, as nearly as he could guess, to an angle of fifty or sixty degrees. His recovery from this attack was less perfect than from any other; he never lost the obliquity of vision; and his memory became much impaired. The recurrence too of the spasms became more frequent. The slightest exertion induced them. He never went to bed without their being brought on by the act of undressing himself;—they came on during the middle of the night;—the least excitement in conversation was attended by them; and even operations in surgery if requiring any nicety, occasioned them. It is remarked by Sir Everard Home, that as his mind was irritated by trifles, these produced the most violent effects on his disease. “His coachman,” says he, “being beyond his time, or a servant not attending to his directions, brought on the spasms, while a real misfortune/produced no such effect. He thus continued to drag on a painful and precarious existence, with the grave every moment threatening to open beneath his feet. At length the fatal event so long anticipated by his friends occurred; it was sudden; and occasioned, as his former fits had been, by mental excitement. The circumstances by which this was occasioned, are thus detailed by Dr Adams, who had a personal knowledge of them. “A law,” says he, “concerning the qualifications required for the admission of pupils, had been carried contrary to the wishes of Mr Hunter. At this time he was applied to by a youth ignorant of the new regulation and consequently unprovided with any documents. His former residence was at a great distance, and he was anxious not to lose time during an expensive stay in London, in fitting himself for professional service. Mr Hunter, to relieve himself from the irksomeness of pleading or explaining, requested the case might be drawn up in the form of a letter addressed to himself. This he proposed to bring with him at the meeting of the next board. Notwithstanding this great caution, however, he felt the probability of a contest which he might prove unable to support. On the succeeding day the writer of this, (Dr Adams,) had a very long conversation with him, in which we were insensibly led to his complaint; a subject of all others the most interesting to his friends, and on which he never was backward in conversing. He was willing to hear every argument against the probable existence of an organic infirmity; but it was easy to see that his own opinion remained the same. Nor did he fail

on this occasion, to revert to the effect which it had on his temper. On the following day, I am informed from good authority, he told a baronet, who called on him in the morning, that he was going to the hospital; that he was fearful some unpleasant rencounter would ensue, and if such should be the case, he knew it must be his death." Notwithstanding this presentiment, he chose to hazard the event, for the purpose of defending a youth, against what appeared to him an oppressive and unjust regulation. The generosity of such a motive is the best apology for the indiscretion in attending the meeting, at which such fatal consequences were, even by himself, apprehended. "On the 16th October," says Sir Everard Home, "when in his usual state of health, he went to St George's hospital, and meeting with something which irritated his mind, and not being perfectly master of the circumstances, he withheld his sentiments; in which state of restraint he went into the next room, and turning round to Dr Robinson, one of the physicians to the hospital, he gave a deep groan, and dropped down dead." His body was conveyed from the hospital in a sedan chair, and underwent a careful medical examination, by which it appeared that among other morbid changes that had occurred, the arteries both of the heart and brain had undergone ossification. His funeral was attended by a few of his oldest medical friends, and his remains interred in the vault under the parish church of St Martin's in the Fields. He expired, it may be added, in his sixty-fifth year, the same age, at which his brother Dr William Hunter died.

We have now noticed *seriatim* the principal events which characterized the life of this eminent surgeon, and throughout them we notice the manifestation of great mental energy, combined with considerable powers of originality. His early education, had it is true been grievously neglected; but this very fact left him at liberty to explore more freely new and untrodden paths, which men shackled by scholastic dogmas, and bowing with undue reverence to pre-existing authorities, seldom have the courage to attempt. With such men the deviation from established rules is regarded as a species of heterodoxy; and their learning, therefore, chains them down to a fixed and never improving system. Thus it was with the majority of physicians who embraced, and then promulgated *ex cathedra* the doctrines of Galen, Boerhaave, Stahl, and others; but it was otherwise with John Hunter; he was of no school; he went with an unprejudiced mind to nature, and examined into all her operations with that freedom and independence which can alone advance the true interests of philosophy. He read very little. "I have learned," says one of his biographers, "from a gentleman who was very intimate with him, that when he had made a discovery, it was his custom to relate it to Mr Cruickshanks, who frequently informed him that Haller had made the same observation before." In every department of science, and even in general literature, such coincidences of observation will often occur; and these too frequently have given rise to charges of wilful plagiarism, of which the suspected author was never guilty. John Hunter was a man of truly original observation; and distinguished himself as much by the practical application of his knowledge, as by the ingenious theories which he adopted. As a surgeon, he was a bold but judicious, a quick yet skillful operator; and suggested many improvements in the mode of performing difficult operations. He discovered the method of operating for popliteal aneurism by taking up the femoral artery on the anterior part of the thigh without interfering with the tumour in the ham, by which the pain, and danger, and future sufferings of the patient are materially mitigated. This indeed ranks among the most important of the improvements which have recently been introduced into the practice of surgery. It may be added, that John Hunter always held the showy part of surgery in the lowest estimation. "To perform an

operation," said he, "is to mutilate a patient whom we are unable to cure; it should therefore be considered as an acknowledgment of the imperfection of our art." How different a sentiment is this from that entertained by some eminent surgeons, who, with much surgical skill but little humanity, recommend operations at the risk of the patient's life, and handle the knife, when in the public theatre, rather with the view of exhibiting their own dexterous manipulation, than with that of relieving the condition of the unfortunate being who writhes beneath the torture which is so coolly and ostentatiously inflicted.

In the former part of our memoir we adverted to the difficulties which this eminent surgeon experienced for some years in struggling against those pecuniary adversities, which seem in an especial manner to oppress men of superior mental endowments. But the subsequent tenor of his career teaches a lesson which cannot too strongly be inculcated;—that resolution, industry, and perseverance, will in the end baffle the evil genius which seems at first to throw thorns and impediments around our path. During the first eleven years of his practice, which, it must be admitted, was for him a long and tedious mental probation, his income never amounted to a thousand pounds a year; however, the four succeeding years it exceeded that sum; and for several years previous to his death, it increased to five, and was at that period six thousand pounds a year. Whatever difficulties, therefore, at first beset his progress were eventually surmounted; he attained the highest rank in his profession; he was universally esteemed and extolled as a man of general science; he had as much practice as he could attend to; his emoluments were considerable; and if we raise up the curtain of domestic life, we shall find him cheered by the society of a wife whom he loved; whose superior mental accomplishments rendered her a fit companion even for a man of his elevated scientific rank; besides all which, he was the parent of two children, in whom, it was natural that his best hopes and warmest affections should be centered. "Nor," says Dr Adams, "was he insensible of these blessings; he has often told me, that if he had been allowed to bespeak a pair of children, they should have been those with which providence had favoured him." But the cup of human enjoyment seldom mantles to the brim without containing some drops of alloying bitterness; and there is no doubt but that professional anxieties, and ill health rendered his temper irritable and impetuous. He was, says Sir Everard Home, readily provoked, and when irritated not easily soothed. His disposition was candid and free from reserve, even to a fault. He hated deceit, and as he was above every kind of artifice, he detested it in others, and too openly avowed his sentiments. His mind was uncommonly active; it was naturally formed for investigation, and that turn displayed itself on the most trivial occasions, and always with mathematical exactness. What is curious, it fatigued him to be long in mixed company which did not admit of connected conversation, more particularly during the last ten years of his life. He required less relaxation than other men; seldom sleeping more than four hours in the night, but almost always nearly an hour after dinner; this probably arose from the natural turn of his mind being so much adapted to his own occupations, that they were in reality his amusements, and therefore did not fatigue.

We have already seen how much time, even amidst his arduous professional toils and miscellaneous pursuits, he devoted to comparative anatomy, and in collecting preparations to illustrate every department of that interesting science. The museum which he succeeded in founding, remains to this day a monument of his industry, perseverance, and ingenuity. Here we find arranged in a

regular order of progressive classification every species of animate being, or link in the chain of organization, from the lowest vegetable, in which life can be scarcely recognized, up to man ; but no account or description, however minute, can do adequate justice to such a collection. By his will he left it, under the discretion of his executors, to be sold for the benefit of his family, in one entire lot, to the government of Great Britain ; or in case of refusal, to any other government or state which would offer such a price for it, as all parties might consider reasonable. Six years after his death, it was purchased by the British parliament for fifteen thousand pounds, and given to the College of Surgeons, on condition that twenty-four lectures should be delivered annually to members of the college, and that under certain regulations it should be open to the public. We thus find that, while his elder brother completed a museum which does honour to the university in which it is preserved, the younger, by his industry and perseverance, completed another, which has been pronounced by the most competent judges to be an honour to his country. How practical a lesson does this afford of the prodigious achievements which may be accomplished by the sustained perseverance and labours of a single individual !

In personal appearance, John Hunter was much below the ordinary middle stature ; but his body was well formed for muscular exertion, and when in health he was always extremely active. His countenance was open, and although impressed with lines of thought, was by no means habitually severe ; on the contrary, its expression soon softened into tenderness, or became lighted up by mirth, according as the impression swept across his mind. When Lavater saw his print, he said "That man thinks for himself," an opinion which the whole tenor of his actions will be seen to have verified. An admirable portrait of him was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of which a spirited engraving was executed by Mr Sharpe. A bust also of him was modeled by a Mr Bacon, in the modeling of which he was assisted by a cast taken during life. He was quick in manner, and "in conversation," says Sir Everard Home, "spoke too freely and harshly of his contemporaries ;" but this, we are given to understand, arose rather from his conviction that surgery was still in its infancy, than from any uncharitable motive, or wish to depreciate his contemporaries. From almost the earliest periods in society, medical men have been stigmatized for displaying the "odium medicum ;" but the fact is, that men educated to the practice of an art, the principles of which are not cognizable to the public, are apt to treat with intolerance the pretensions of men whom they have reason to know, notwithstanding they may have crept into a certain degree of favour, are ignorant perhaps of the most elementary principles of their profession. The observations of John Hunter, even in casual occasions, were often remarkably pointed, and significant of his very acute and discriminating mental powers. On one occasion, having been heard to express regret that we must all die, a physician present took advantage of the opportunity to inquire whether it was true that his brother had in his last moments expressed how "pleasant a thing it is to die ?" to which he immediately replied, "'tis poor work when it comes to that," evidently insinuating a doubt as to the moral correctness of any such sentiments, which, as we have before hinted, we regard as a rash declaration, incompatible with the sufferings, condition, and mysterious, yet infinitely important prospects of any man on the brink of that future world, which, seriously regarded, must suggest reflections of a very different, and far more solemn nature. Few men were more generous than John Hunter, and the only fault which can impugn his memory is, that in executing his designs for the benefit of science, he neglected too much the interests of his wife and children. It is to be regretted that the

ambition of being serviceable to mankind, should hurry any man away from the more immediate consideration of the wants and condition of his own family; for not all the advantages conferred on posterity, nor all the fame that is trumpeted abroad in his honour, can compensate for a single pang of that widowed bosom which, from such neglect, may have to endure the keen and bitter sorrows of unpitied poverty. We say this without disparagement to the many excellent qualities which distinguished the character of John Hunter,—a name which will be ever highly esteemed in the annals of British surgery.

We cannot, however, conclude this memoir without pausing to notice more fully the estimable qualities of the lady to whom it was his good fortune to be united. She possessed personal attractions of the highest order; "into whatever assembly she entered," says one who appears to have been acquainted with her, "the delicacy of her face, with the commanding grace of her person, gave her a peculiar air of distinction, and seldom failed to attract attention. But she never ascribed to her own merit the notice she received in society; feeling herself the wife of a celebrated man, she was fond of imputing the attention she received to the influence of his character; doing injustice to herself from a generous pride of owing every thing to him; and she never appeared so much gratified by attention as when she supposed it was shown to her for his sake."<sup>4</sup> The same competent authority states, that "during her husband's life they lived in a liberal and hospitable manner. Mr Hunter was too much devoted to science to attend much to his worldly affairs, and too careless of money to be rich. He did not leave his family in affluence, yet so circumstanced that his widow always supported a most respectable appearance, and was visited by the first society." We repeat that we do not think that any man's devotion to science affords the slightest apology or ground of excuse for leaving those to whom he should be bound by the most sacred ties of attachment, in neglected circumstances. On the death of her husband, Mrs John Hunter withdrew from society, and spent her life almost entirely in retirement. After a lingering illness, which she bore with much patience and resignation, she died on 7th January, 1821, in the 79th year of her age, leaving behind her a son and daughter, the former a major in the army, and the latter the widow of general Campbell, son of the late Sir James Campbell of Inverneil.

Besides her many amiable domestic qualifications, to which all who knew her bore testimony, she was exceedingly accomplished; and occasionally during her husband's lifetime, mingled in society with Horace Walpole, Mrs Carter, Mrs Vesey, and other characters well known in the literary world. She sang and played with admirable taste, and had a talent for poetry which she chiefly displayed in the production of songs and poems, which were characterized by much refinement of thought, sensibility of feeling, and delicacy of expression. Among the former, "The Son of Alknomook" and "Queen Mary's Lament," became extremely popular; among the latter, her verses "On November, 1784," a beautiful address to fancy, under the title of "La Douce Chimere," with several other minor poems, display much feeling and imagination.<sup>5</sup> We cannot conclude this memoir more appropriately than by transcribing the following little poem of hers, not that we have selected it as a specimen of her general poetical power, but because it was for the first time published in the Scots Magazine for March, 1821, and may not, on that account, be generally known:—

<sup>4</sup> Register of Deaths, Scots Magazine, 1824.

<sup>5</sup> She collected her poems and songs and published them in a small volume in the year 1806.

## THE LOT OF THOUSANDS.

How many lift the head, look gay, and smile,  
Against their consciences?—Young.

When hope lies dead within the heart,  
By secret sorrow close concealed,  
We shrink, lest looks or words impart  
What must not be revealed.

'Tis hard to smile when one could weep,  
'To speak when one would silent be;  
To wake when one should wish to sleep,  
And wake to agony.

Yet such the lot by thousands cast,  
Who wander in this world of care,  
And bend beneath the bitter blast,  
To save them from despair.

But nature waits her guests to greet,  
Where disappointment cannot come;  
And time guides with unerring feet  
The weary wanderers home.

HUTTON, (DR) JAMES, an eminent philosophical character, was born in Edinburgh on the 3rd June, 1726. His father was a respectable merchant, who for many years held the office of city treasurer, and was admired by all who knew him, for his sound judgment and strict integrity. He died while James was very young; the care, therefore, of her son's education devolved upon Mrs Hutton, whose great maternal kindness was only exceeded by her desire to give her son a liberal education. She sent him first to the High school of Edinburgh, and afterwards to the university, where he entered as a student of humanity in 1740. Professor M'Laurin was then the most celebrated teacher in that seminary, but though Dr Hutton admired his lectures, he did not seem much disposed towards the science which he taught. To professor Stevenson's predilections on logic may be attributed the first direction given to young Hutton's genius, not so much for having made him a logician, but for having accidentally directed his mind towards the science of chemistry. The professor having casually mentioned in one of his lectures, in illustration of some general doctrine, the fact, that gold is dissolved in *aqua regia*, and that two acids, which can each of them singly dissolve any baser metals, must unite their strength before they can attack the most precious; the phenomenon struck so forcibly on the mind of Hutton, that he began to search with avidity after books which might explain its cause, and afford him an opportunity of pursuing a study altogether new. He at first found some embarrassments in his pursuit from the superficial works that came to his hands, and it was from Harris's *Lexicon Techni* that he first derived his knowledge of chemistry, and which by a sort of elective attraction drew his mind all at once to a favourite study, that decided his prospects in life.

Though he pursued his academical studies with closeness and regularity, and evinced a taste and capacity for instruction, his friends did not see much profit likely to arise from scientific pursuits, and accordingly persuaded him to adopt some profession, which, though much against his inclination, he agreed to, and was accordingly placed as an apprentice with Mr George Chalmers, writer to the signet, in 1743. The dry routine of a laborious profession in a less ardent



mind might have checked, if not for ever destroyed, those seeds of genius which were as yet scarce called into life ; but so strong was Mr Hutton's propensity for scientific study, that, instead of copying papers, and making himself acquainted with legal proceedings, he was oftener found amusing himself with his fellow apprentices in chemical experiments ; so that Mr Chalmers was forced to acknowledge, that the business of a writer was one in which he had little chance to succeed. With a fatherly kindness, he therefore advised young Hutton to embrace some other employment more suitable to his inclinations, and relieved him at once from the obligations he came under as his apprentice. How much is science indebted to that liberal-minded man ! Having now to fix upon another profession, he selected that of medicine, as being the most nearly allied to chemistry, and began to study under Dr George Young, and at the same time attended the lectures at the university from 1744 to 1747. The schools of medicine in Edinburgh at that time had not arrived at the high perfection for which they are now so justly celebrated, and it was thought indispensably necessary that a physician should finish his education on the continent. Mr Hutton accordingly proceeded to Paris, where he applied himself closely to anatomy and chemistry. After remaining for two years in France, he returned home by the way of the Low Countries, and took the degree of doctor of medicine at Leyden in 1749.

On arriving in London, about the end of that year, he began seriously to reflect upon his prospects in life, and he soon saw, that however much he wished to establish himself in his native city as a physician, there were many obstacles which seemed insurmountable. He was a young man whose merit was unknown, and whose connexions, though respectable, had no power to assist him, the business being then in the hands of a few eminent practitioners who had been long known and established. All this seems to have made a deep impression on his mind, and he expressed himself with much anxiety on the subject in corresponding with his friends in Edinburgh. Amongst these there was one, a young man nearly of his own age, whose habits and pursuits were congenial with his own, and with whom he had tried many novel experiments in chemistry ; amongst the best was one on the nature and properties of sal ammoniac. This friend, whose name was James Davie, had, in Mr Hutton's absence, pushed his inquiries on the subject to a considerable extent ; the result of which afforded him a well-grounded hope of being able to establish a profitable manufactory of that salt from coal-soot. Mr Davie communicated the project to his friend in London, who, with a mind as yet undecided on any fixed pursuit, returned to Edinburgh in 1750, and abandoning entirely his views on the practice of medicine, resolved to apply himself to agriculture. What his motives were for taking this step it is difficult to ascertain. His father had left him a small property in Berwickshire, and being of an independent and unambitious mind, despising avarice and vanity alike, he most probably looked upon the business of a farmer as entitled to a preference above any other. But not being disposed to do any thing in a superficial way, he determined to gain a knowledge of rural economy in the best school of the day. For this purpose he went into Norfolk, and took up his residence in the house of a farmer, from whom he expected to receive sufficient instruction. He appears to have enjoyed his situation very much,—the natural simplicity of his disposition according well with the plain, blunt characters around him.

It has been remarked of Dr Hutton, that to men of an ordinary grade of mind, he appeared to be an ordinary man possessing little more spirit perhaps than is usually to be met with. This circumstance made his residence in Norfolk quite agreeable, as even there he could for a time forget his great acquire-

ments, and mingle with the simple characters around him, in so cordial a manner, as to make them see nothing in the stranger to set them at a distance from him, or induce them to treat him with reserve. In years after, when surrounded by his literary friends, the philosopher loved to describe the happy hours he spent while under the humble roof of honest John Dybold, from whom he had learned so many good practical lessons in husbandry. From his residence in Norfolk, he made many journeys on foot through other parts of England to obtain information in agriculture, and it was in the course of these rambles that, to amuse himself on the road, he first began to study mineralogy and geology. In a letter to Sir John Hall of Douglas, a gentleman possessed of much taste for science, he says, while on his perambulations, "that he was become very fond of studying the surface of the earth, and was looking with anxious curiosity, into every pit, or ditch, or bed of a river, that fell in his way, and that if he did not always avoid the fate of *Thales*, his misfortune was certainly not owing to the same cause." This letter was written from Yarmouth in 1753. With the view of still further increasing his knowledge of agriculture, he set out for Flanders, where good husbandry was well understood, long before it was introduced into Britain, and travelling through Holland, Brabant, Flanders, and Picardy, he returned about the middle of summer, 1754. Notwithstanding all he had seen to admire in the garden culture that prevailed in Holland, and the husbandry in Flanders, he says, in a letter to his friend Sir John Hall, from London, "Had I a doubt of it before I set out, I should have returned fully convinced that they are good husbandmen in Norfolk." Many observations made on that journey, particularly on mineralogy, are to be found in his *Theory of the Earth*. As he was now sufficiently initiated in a knowledge of agriculture, he wished to apply himself to the practice in his own country; and for that purpose, returned to Scotland at the end of summer. He at first hesitated on the choice of a situation where he might best carry his improved plans of farming into effect, and at last fixed upon his own patrimony in Berwickshire. From Norfolk he brought with him a plough and ploughman, who set the first example of good tillage. It was a novel sight for the surrounding farmers to see the plough drawn by two horses, without an accompanying driver. The new system was, however, found to succeed in all its parts, and was quickly adopted, so that Dr Hutton has the credit of introducing the new husbandry into a country where it has, since his time, made more rapid improvements than in any other in Europe. He resided on his farm until the year 1768, occasionally making a tour into the Highlands, with his friend Sir George Clerk, upon geological inquiries, as he was now studying that branch of science with unceasing attention.

While residing on his farm for the last fourteen years, he was also engaged in the sal ammoniac work, which had been actually established on the foundation of the experiments already made by his friend and himself, but the business remained in Mr Davie's name only till 1765, when a copartnership was regularly entered into, and the manufactory carried on in the name of both.

As his farm, from excellent management, progressively improved, it became a more easy task, and to a mind like his, less interesting; so that finding a good opportunity of letting it to advantage, he did so, and became a resident in Edinburgh in the year 1768, from which time he devoted his whole life to scientific pursuits. This change of residence was accompanied with many advantages he seldom enjoyed before;—having the entire command of his own time, he was enabled to mix in a society of friends whose minds were congenial with his own; among whom were Sir George Clerk, his brother Mr Clerk of Eldin, Dr Black, Mr Russel, professor of natural philosophy, professor Adam Ferguson, Dr James Lind, and others. Surrounded by so many eminent

characters, by all of whom he was beloved and respected, from the vast fund of information he possessed, he employed his time in maturing his views and searching into the secrets of nature with unwearied zeal. In one of these experiments he discovered that mineral alkali is contained in zeolite. On boiling the gelatinous substance obtained from combining that fossil with muriatic acid, he found that, after evaporation, the salt was formed. Dr Playfair thinks this to be the first instance of an alkali being discovered in a stony body. The experiments of M. Klaprath and Dr Kennedy have confirmed the conclusion, and led to others of the same kind. With a view of completing his Theory of the Earth, he made many journeys into different parts of England and Wales, and on visiting the salt mines of Cheshire, he made the curious observations of the concentric circles marked on the roofs of these mines, to which he has referred in his Theory, as affording a proof that the salt rock was not formed from mere aqueous deposition.

In 1777, Dr Hutton's first publication was given to the world in the shape of a pamphlet, on the "Nature, Quality, and Distinctions of Coal and Culm." This was occasioned by a question which the board of customs and privy council wished to have settled, in order to fix on the proportion of duty the one should bear with the other when carried coastwise. Dr Hutton's pamphlet was considered so ingenious and satisfactory, that an exemption of the small coal of Scotland from paying duty on such short voyages was the consequence. He took a lively interest in promoting the arts of his native country, and devoted much of his time and attention to the project of an internal navigation between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. He read several papers in the Philosophical Society, before its incorporation with the Royal Society, (none of which were then published, with the exception of one in the second volume of the 'Transactions of the Royal Society,') "on certain natural appearances of the ground on the hill of Arthur's Seat." His zeal for the support of science in this city induced him to come forward and communicate to the Royal Society a Sketch of a Theory of the Earth, the perfecting of which had occupied his unceasing attention for a period of thirty years, during which time he had never ceased to study the natural history of the globe, with a view of ascertaining all the changes that have taken place on its surface, and discovering the causes by which they have been produced; and from his great skill as a mineralogist, and having examined the great leading facts of geology with his own eyes, and carefully studied every learned work on the natural history of the earth, it must be acknowledged that few men could enter better prepared on so arduous a task. As this Theory is so well known, and has been the subject of so much controversy, our limits will not permit us entering upon it here; we therefore refer our readers to the book itself.

Dr Kirwan of Dublin, and others, considered Dr Hutton's Theory both eccentric and paradoxical, and have charged him with presumption in speculating on subjects to which the mere human understanding is incompetent to reach, while some gave a preference to the system of Berkeley, as more simple and philosophical; but notwithstanding all the attacks which the new doctrines of Hutton were subjected to, he had the proud satisfaction of being fortified in his opinions by many great and good men, who were bound to him by the closest ties of friendship. Dr Black, Mr Clerk of Eldin, and professor Playfair, as occasion required, were willing and ready to vindicate his hypothesis. But setting aside all these considerations, there existed in the work itself many faults, which contributed not a little to prevent Dr Hutton's system from making a due impression on the world. In the opinion of his greatest defender, professor Playfair, "It was proposed too briefly, and with too little detail of facts for a system which

involved so much that was new and opposite to the opinions generally received. The description which it contains of the phenomena of geology, suppose in the reader too great a knowledge of the things described. The reasoning is sometimes embarrassed by the care taken to render it strictly logical, and the transitions from the author's peculiar notions of arrangement, are often unexpected and abrupt. These defects, run more or less through all Dr Hutton's writings, and produce a degree of obscurity astonishing to all who knew him, and who heard him every day converse, with no less clearness and precision than animation and force." In the same volume of the Transactions appeared a paper by him, "A Theory of Rain," which he afterwards published in his "Physical Dissertations." Having long studied meteorology with great attention, this ingenious theory attracted almost immediate notice, and was valued for affording a distinct notion of the manner in which cold acts in causing a precipitation of humidity. It met, however, from M. De Luc with a vigorous and determined opposition; Dr Hutton defended it with some warmth, and the controversy was carried on with much sharpness on both sides.

In his observations in meteorology, he is said to be the first who thought of ascertaining the medium temperature of any climate by the temperature of its springs. With this view he made a great number of observations in different parts of Great Britain, and found, by a singular enough coincidence between two arbitrary measures quite independent of each other, that the temperature of springs along the east coast of this island varies a degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer for a degree of latitude. This rate of change, though it cannot be general over the whole globe, is probably not far from the truth for all the northern parts of the temperate zone. In explaining the diminution of temperature as we ascend in the atmosphere, Dr Hutton was much more fortunate than any other of the philosophers who have considered the same subject. It is well known that the condensation of air converts part of the latent into sensible heat, and that the rarefaction of air converts part of the sensible into latent heat; this is evident from the experiment of the air gun, and from many others. If, therefore, we suppose a given quantity of air to be suddenly transported from the surface to any height above, it will expand on account of the diminution of pressure, and a part of its heat becoming latent it will be rendered colder than before. Thus, also, when a quantity of heat ascends by any means whatever from one stratum of air to a superior stratum, a part of it becomes latent, so that an equilibrium of heat can never be established among the strata; but those which are less, must always remain colder than those which are more compressed. This was Dr Hutton's explanation, and it contains no hypothetical principle whatsoever. After these publications already mentioned had appeared, he resolved to undertake journeys into different parts of Scotland, in order to ascertain whether that conjunction of granite and schistus, which his theory supposed, actually took place. His views were first turned towards the Grampians, which the duke of Athol learning, invited him to accompany him during the shooting season into Glentilt, a tract of country situated under these mountains. On arriving there, he discovered in the bed of the river Tilt, which runs through that glen, many veins of red granite traversing the black micaceous schistus, and producing by a contrast of colour an effect that might be striking even to an unskilful observer. So vivid were the emotions he displayed at this spectacle, that his conductors never doubted his having discovered a vein of gold or silver. Dr Hutton has described the appearances at that spot, in the third volume of the Edinburgh Transactions, p. 79, and some excellent drawings of the glen were made by Mr Clark, whose pencil was not less valuable in the sciences than in the arts.

He pursued his observations with unabated ardour, and in the two next years, with his friend Mr Clark, made several excursions into Galloway, the island of Arran, and the neighbourhood of Jedburgh. In all of these he discovered the same conjunction, though not in so complete a manner, as among the Grampians. In 1788, he made some other valuable observations of the same kind. The ridge of the Lammermoor hills in the south of Scotland consists of primary micaceous schistus, and extends from St Abb's head westward, till it joins the metalliferous mountains about the source of the Clyde. The sea-coast affords a transverse section of this Alpine tract at its eastern extremity, and exhibits the change from the primary to the secondary strata, both in the south and in the north. In the latter part of this summer, Dr Hutton accompanied the duke or Athol to the Isle of Man, with the view of making a survey of that island; what he saw there, however, was not much calculated to illustrate any of the leading features in geology. He found the main body of the island to consist of primitive schistus, much inclined, and more intersected with quartzose veins than the corresponding schistus in the south of Scotland. The direction of the primitive strata corresponded very well with that in Galloway, running nearly from east to west. This is all the general information he obtained from that excursion.

Notwithstanding this assiduous attention to geology, he found leisure to speculate on others of a different nature. A more voluminous work from his pen made its appearance soon after the Physical Dissertations:—"An Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge, and the Progress of Reason, from Sense to Science and Philosophy," in three volumes quarto. In this treatise he formed a general system of physics and metaphysics. His opinions on the former subjects were very singular. He deprives matter of those qualities which are *usually* deemed most *essential*, solidity, impenetrability, and the *vis inertie*. He conceived it to be merely an assemblage of powers acting variously upon each other, and that external things are no more like the perceptions they give, than wine is similar to intoxication, or opium to the delirium it produces. It would be vain in us to attempt to analyse this singular work, which cannot fail to recall to the mind the opinions of the ingenious Dr Berkeley; the two systems agree in many material points, but differ essentially in others, but being little skilled in the subtle mazes of metaphysics, we would rather be inclined to apply to both the caustic lines of Pope:

"Physic, of metaphysic begs defence,  
And metaphysic calls for aid on sense."

In deference to the opinions of so great a man as Dr Hutton, we shall inform our readers of the view taken of the moral tendency of his work by his friend professor Playfair, who no doubt scrutinized very deeply its metaphysical speculations, as he in part, if not altogether, became a convert of the Huttonian system. "Indeed," says he, "Mr Hutton has taken great pains to deduce from his system, in a singular manner, the leading doctrines of morality and natural religion, having dedicated the third volume of his book almost wholly to that object. It is worthy to remark, that while he is thus employed his style assumes a better tone, and a much greater degree of perspicuity than it usually possesses. Many instances might be pointed out, where the warmth of its benevolent and moral feelings, bursts through the clouds that so often veil from us the clearest ideas of his understanding. One, in particular, deserves notice, in which he treats of the importance of the *female character* to society in a state of high civilization. A felicity of expression, and a flow of natural eloquence, inspired by so interesting a subject, make us regret that his pen did not more frequently do justice to his thoughts." Dr Hutton was seized with a severe and dangerous

illness in the summer of 1793, and, although before this time he had enjoyed a long continuance of good health, such was the painful nature of his complaint that he was reduced to great weakness, and confined to his room for many months, where, on his regaining some degree of strength, he amused himself in superintending the publication of the work just mentioned. During his recovery he was roused from his quiet into further exertion by a severe attack made on his *Theory of the Earth*, by Dr Kirwan, in the *Memoirs of the Irish Academy*, rendered formidable by the celebrity of the author. Before this period, Dr Hutton had often been urged to publish the entire work on the *Theory of the Earth*, which he had constantly put off—so much so, that there seemed some danger of its not appearing in his life-time. The very day, however, after Kirwan's paper was put in his hands, he began the revisal of his manuscript and resolved immediately to send it to press. The work was accordingly published in two volumes octavo, in 1795. He next turned his attention to a work on husbandry, on which he had written a great deal, the fruit both of his vast reading and practical experience. He proposed to reduce the whole into a systematic form under the title of "*Elements of Agriculture*." The time, however, was fast approaching which was to terminate the exertions of a mind of such singular activity and ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. In the course of the winter, 1796, he became gradually weaker, and extremely emaciated from the pain he suffered from a recurrence of his former complaint, though he still retained the full activity and acuteness of his mind. "*Saussure's Voyages aux Alps*," which had just reached him that winter, was the last study of one eminent geologist, as they were the last work of another. On Saturday the 26th March, 1797, although in great pain, he employed himself in writing and noting down his remarks on some attempts which were then making towards a new mineralogical nomenclature. In the evening he was seized with shivering fits, and as these continued to increase, he sent for his friend Dr Russel. Before he could arrive, all assistance was in vain. Dr Hutton had just strength left to stretch out his hand to the physician, and immediately expired.

Dr Hutton was possessed of an uncommon activity and ardour of mind, upheld in science by whatever was new, beautiful, or sublime; and that those feelings operated with more intense power in early life, may account for the want of stability he displayed, and the difficulty he felt in settling down to any one fixed pursuit. Geology and mineralogy were to him two of the most sublime branches of physical science. The novelty and grandeur offered by the study to the imagination, the simple and uniform order given to the whole natural history of the earth, and above all, the views opened of the wisdom that governs the universe, are things to which hardly any mind could be insensible, but to him they were matters, not of transient delight, but of solid and permanent happiness.

He studied with an indefatigable perseverance, and allowed no professional, and rarely any domestic arrangement, to interrupt his uniform course. He dined early, almost always at home, ate sparingly, and drank no wine. The evening he spent in the society of friends, who were always delighted and instructed by his animated conversation, which, whether serious or gay, was replete with ingenious and original observation. When he sought relaxation from the studies of the day, and joined the evening party, a bright glow of cheerfulness spread itself over every countenance; and the philosopher who had just descended from the sublimest speculations in metaphysics, or risen from the deepest research in geology, seated himself at the tea-table, as much disengaged from thought, and as cheerful and joyous, as the youngest of the company.

Professor Stewart, in his life of Mr Smith, has alluded to a little society that

then flourished in Edinburgh, called the Oyster Club. Of this, Dr Black, Dr Hutton, and Mr Smith were the founders. When time and opportunity admitted, these distinguished men could unbend one to the other, and on such occasions Dr Hutton delighted in blending the witty and ludicrous in his conversation. Round them soon formed a circle of choice spirits, who knew how to value their familiar and social converse; and it would be vain to look for a company more sincerely united, where every thing favourable to good society was more perfectly cultivated, and every thing opposite more strictly excluded.

Dr Hutton was never married, but lived with his sisters, three amiable women, who managed his domestic affairs. Though he cared little for money, he had accumulated considerable wealth, owing to his moderation and unassuming manner of life, as well as from the great ability with which his long-trying friend, Mr Davie, conducted their joint concern. Miss Isabella Hutton remained to lament her brother's loss, and by her his collection of fossils were given to Dr Black, who presented them to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, under the condition that they should be completely arranged, and kept for ever apart, for the purpose of illustrating the Huttonian Theory of the Earth.

## I

INGLIS, or ENGLISH, (Stn) JAMES, an ingenious writer of the early part of the sixteenth century, is chiefly known as the supposed author of the "Complaynt of Scotland," a very curious political and fanciful work, published originally at St Andrews in 1548 or 1549, and the earliest Scottish prose work in existence.

Of this learned person, Mackenzie has given an account in his *Lives of Scottish Writers*; but it is so obviously made up of a series of mere conjectures stated as facts, that we must reject it entirely. According to more respectable authority, Inglis was a dignified priest (which accounts for the *Sir* attached to his name), and appears from authentic documents to have been, in 1515, secretary to queen Margaret, widow of James IV. Care must be taken to distinguish him from his contemporary John Inglis, who served James IV. as a manager of plays and entertainments, and who is stated to have been present with Sir David Lindsay in the church of Linlithgow, when that sovereign was warned by a supposed apparition against his expedition into England. Sir James Inglis was, nevertheless, a writer of plays, being the subject of the following allusion in Sir David Lindsay's *Testament of the Papingo*:

"And in the court bin present in thir dayis,  
That ballattis brevis lustely, and layis,  
Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present,  
Quho can say more than Schir James English says,  
In ballattis, fareis, and in pleasaunt plaies;  
Redd in cunnynge, in prackyck rycht prudent;  
But Culross hath made his pen impotent."

It will be observed that Inglis is here indirectly spoken of as one of the poets who haunted the court of James V. Even in the preceding reign, however, he appears to have been on an intimate footing at court, as a man of learning. James IV. whose devotion to alchymy is well known, writes a letter (extant in the "*Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*," ) to Mr James Inglis, to the follow-

ing effect: "We have thankfully received your letter, by which you inform us that you are in possession of the abstruse books of the *Sound Philosophy*; which, as certain most deserving persons have begged them of you, you with difficulty preserve for our use, having heard that we are addicted to the study of that art." Of the ballads and plays composed by Inglis, not a vestige now remains, unless a poem attributed to him in the Maitland MS. and as such printed by Hailes and Sibbald, entitled "A General Satire," be held as a specimen of one of those kinds of composition, and be really a production of his pen.

In a charter of 19th February, 1527, Inglis is styled chancellor of the royal chapel of Stirling; and he appears to have been soon after raised to the dignity of abbot of Culross, a promotion which, if we may believe his friend Lindsay, spoiled him as a poet. It was eventually attended with still more fatal effects. Having provoked the wrath of a neighbouring baron, William Blackater of Tulliallan, the abbot of Culross was by that individual cruelly slain, March 1, 1530. The causes of this bloody deed do not appear; but the sensation created by it throughout the community was very great. Sir William Lothian, a priest of the same abbey, who was an accomplice of the principal assassin, was publicly degraded on a scaffold at Edinburgh, in presence of the king and queen, and next day he and the laird of Tulliallan were beheaded.

It would hardly be worth while to advert so minutely to a person, who, whatever was his genius, is not certainly known as the author of any existing composition, if the name were not conspicuous in works of Scottish literary history, and must therefore continue to be inquired for in such compilations as the present. Inglis, if the same individual as this abbot of Culross, could have no pretensions to the honour put upon him by some writers, of having written the "Complaynt of Scotland;" for that curious specimen of our early literature was undeniably written in 1548, eighteen years after the death of the abbot. In the obscurity, however, which prevails regarding the subject of the present notice, we cannot deny that he *may* have been a different person, and *may* have survived even to the date assigned for his death by Mackenzie—1554; in which case he *could* have been the author of the Complaynt. That a Sir James Inglis existed after 1530, and had some connexion with Culross, appears pretty certain from the passage in the Testament of the Papingo, which is understood to have been written in 1538. But, on the other hand, there is no authority for assigning the authorship of the Complaynt to *any* Sir James Inglis, except that of Dr Mackenzie, which rests on no known foundation, and, from the general character of that biographical writer, is not entitled to much respect. Some further inquiries into this subject will be found under the head JAMES WEDDERBURN.

INNES, THOMAS, an historian and critical antiquary, known to the students of early Scottish history by the title of "Father Innes," was a priest of the Scottish college at Paris, during the earlier part of the 18th century. It is not creditable to the literature of our country during the period just mentioned, that the meritorious labours of this highly acute investigator have been so little noticed, and that no one has thought it worth while to leave memorials sufficient to enable posterity to know any thing of his life and character. His labours to discover the true sources of Scottish history proved an ungrateful task; they were unacceptable to the prejudices of the time, and have hardly been appreciated until the memory of the individual who undertook them had quietly sunk into oblivion. In these circumstances any scrap of information which we can procure on the subject is peculiarly valuable. We perceive from a few words in the preface to his Critical Essay, that he received the rudiments of education in Scotland, and that he must have left his native country early in life for a per-



manent residence abroad, probably, if we may judge from slight circumstances, along with the exiled monarch James II. His words are—"Though an honourable gentleman of my own country, and another learned English gentleman, were so kind as to revise the language, and to alter such exotic words or expressions as it was natural should drop from me, I doubt not but the English reader will still meet in this essay with too many marks of my *native language* and *foreign education*." But the most interesting, and indeed the principal notice which we have been able to obtain of this individual, is from the diary of the industrious Wodrow for the year 1724, where we find the laborious antiquary worming his way through libraries in search of materials. It may be remarked, that the work on the Early History of the Church of Scotland, which is mentioned by Wodrow as the subject on which he was engaged, was intended as a second part to the "Critical Essay," but has, unfortunately for our information on a very interesting subject, not been given to the world. The passage we refer to is as follows:—

"There is one father Innes, a priest, brother to father Innes of the Scottish college at Paris, who has been at Edinburgh all this winter, and mostly in the Advocates' library, in the hours when open, looking books and MSS. He is not engaged in politics as far as can be guessed; and is a monkish, bookish person, who meddles with nothing but literature. I saw him at Edinburgh. He is upon a design to write an account of the first settlement of Christianity in Scotland, as Mr Ruddiman informs me, and pretends to show that Scotland was Christianized at first from Rome; and thinks to answer our ordinary arguments against this from the difference between the keeping of easter from the custom of Rome; and pretends to prove that there were many variations as to the day of easter even at Rome, and that the usages in Scotland, pretended to be from the Greek church, are very agreeable to the Romish customs that he thinks were used by the popes, about the time that (he) gives account of our differences as to easter.

"This father Innes, in a conversation with my informer, \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> made an observation which I fear is too true. In conversation with the company, who were all protestants, he said he did not know what to make of those who had departed from the catholic church; that as far as he could observe generally, they were leaving the foundations of Christianity, and scarce deserved the name of Christians. He heard that there were departures and great looseness in Holland. That as he came through England, he found most of the bishops there gone off from their articles, and gone into Doctor Clerk's scheme. That the dissenters were many of them falling much in with the same method, and coming near them. That he was glad to find his countrymen in Scotland not tainted in the great doctrine of the Trinity, and sound."<sup>2</sup>

From the period when we find him rummaging in the Advocates' library, we know nothing of Innes, until the publication of his essay in 1729, when he appears to have been in London, and makes an apology for verbal inaccuracies, on the ground that he writes "to keep pace with the press." He seems previously to this event to have performed an extensive "bibliographical tour," as the manuscripts he quotes are dispersed through various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the continent.

A running sketch of the state of the knowledge of early Scottish history previously to the appearance of this work, may not be unacceptable to those who have not paid particular attention to that subject, as explanatory of the obstacles which the author had to overcome. It is well known that Scotland had a full

<sup>1</sup> The name is in a secret hand.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow's *Analeceta*, MS., Ad. Lib. v. 436.

share of the fabulous early history which it is a proud and pleasing task for savages to frame, and which generally protrudes itself into the knowledge possessed by civilized ages, from the unwillingness of mankind to diminish their own claims to consideration, by lessening the glory of their ancestors. The form and consistence of that genealogy which traced the first of Scottish kings to a period some centuries before the Christian era, seems to have been concocted by the Highland senachies, who sang the descent of our monarchs at their coronation. Andrew Wyntoun and John Fordun soberly incorporated the long line thus framed into their chronicle of the Scottish nation from the commencement of the world. Major followed their example with some variations, and Geoffry of Monmouth and Geoffry Keating, respectively incorporated the whole with English and Irish history, the latter much about the same period when Innes wrote, busying himself with tracing the matter to a period anterior to the deluge. The rich and grotesque garb of fable which the whole assumed under Hector Boëce is known to many, if not in the original crabbed Latin, at least in the simple translation of Bellenden. It is discreditable to the memory of Buchanan, that, instead of directing his acute mind to the discovery of truth, he adopted, in many respects, the genealogy just sanctioned, and prepared lives for the monarchs created by fiction, suited as practical comments on his own political views. The fables had now received the sanction of a classical authority—Scotland was called *κατ' ἐξοχην*, “the ancient kingdom;” and grave Englishmen wondered at the hoary antiquity of our line of monarchs. At length, when the antiquity of the race of England had been curtailed, some thought it unfit that that of Scotland should remain untouched—and several English antiquaries, such as Humphry Lhuyd, bishop Usher, bishop Lloyd, and bishop Nicholson, bestowed some calm hints on its improbability, which were speedily drowned by the fierce replies of the Scottish antiquaries, headed by Sir George M'Kenzie.

Such was the state of historical knowledge in Scotland when Innes wrote; and a Scotsman dared to look the line of ancestry claimed by his monarch calmly in the face, and, after due consideration, to strike from it forty crowned heads. The essay is divided into four parts, in which the author successively treats,—of the progress of the Romans in Scotland—of the history of the Mæats, the Strathclyde Britons or Welsh, who existed in the southern part of Scotland—of that of the Caledonians or Picts, who inhabited the whole of the northern portion previously to the arrival of the Scots from Ireland—and of the Scots, the ancestors of the present Highlanders. Examining the foundation on which Boëce supports his forty supernumerary kings, he shows, by very good negative evidence, that two chroniclers, on which that author lays the burden of much of his extraordinary matter, named Veremund and Campbell, never existed, and shows that the genealogists had, by an ingenious device, made Fergus the first, king of the Scots, Fergus the *second*, and had placed another Fergus sufficiently far behind him in chronology, to admit a complement of kings to be placed betwixt the two. Besides the detection of the fabulous part of our history, this work supplies us with an excellent critical dissertation on the various early inhabitants of the country; and the author has, with much pains and care, added an appendix of original documents, which have been highly useful to inquirers into Scottish history. The language in which the whole is clothed is simple, pleasing, and far more correct than that of most Scotsmen who wrote during the same period; while there is a calm dignity, and a philosophical correctness in the arguments, previously unknown to the subject, and which, it had been well if those who have followed the same track had imitated. Pinkerton, who would allow no man to be prejudiced on the subject of Scotland with impunity except himself, never can mention the work of Innes without some token of respect.

"This work," he says, "forms a grand epoch in our antiquities, and was the first that led the way to rational criticism on them: his industry, coolness, judgment, and general accuracy, recommend him as the best antiquary that Scotland has yet produced."<sup>3</sup> While concurring, however, in any praise which we observe to have been elicited by this too much neglected work, we must remark, that it is blemished by a portion of it being evidently prepared with the political view of supporting the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which Innes as a Jacobite probably respected, and as an adherent of the exiled house, felt himself called on to support.<sup>4</sup> He is probably right in presuming that Buchanan knew well the falsehood of many of the facts he stated, but it was as unnecessary that he should answer the arguments which Buchanan, in the separate treatise, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*," may have been *presumed* to have derived from such facts, as it was for Buchanan to erect so great a mass of fable; while the dissertation he has given us on the fruitful subject of the conduct of queen Mary, is somewhat of an excrescence in a dissertation on the early inhabitants of Scotland.

The political bias of this portion of the work is avowed in the preface, where the author observes that the statements of Buchanan, "far from doing any real honour to our country, or contributing, as all historical accounts ought to do, to the benefit of posterity, and to the mutual happiness of king and people, do rather bring a reproach upon the country, and furnish a handle to turbulent spirits, to disturb the quiet and peace, and by consequence the happiness of the inhabitants;"<sup>5</sup> yet even this subject is handled with so much calmness that it may rather be termed a defect, than a fault.

Besides the great work which he wrote, Innes is supposed to have been the compiler of a book of considerable interest and importance. It is pretty well known that a manuscript of the life of king James II., written by himself, existed for some time in the Scots college of Paris, where it was carefully concealed from observation. This valuable work is believed, on too certain grounds, to have been reduced to ashes during the French Revolution; but an abstract of it, which was discovered in Italy, was published by Mr Stanyers Clarke in 1806, and is supposed by well informed persons to have been the work of father Innes.<sup>6</sup> We have been enabled to trace this supposition to no better source than a presumption from the circumstances in which Innes was placed, and to the absence of any other name which can reasonably be assigned. There is, indeed, a document extant, which might afford ground for a contrary supposition. In 1740, Carte, the historian, received an order from James Edgar, secretary to the Pretender, addressed to the Messrs Innes, permitting him to inspect the life writ by Mr Dicconson, in consequence of royal orders, all taken out of and supported by the late king's manuscripts; but it has been urged, on the other hand, that there were at least two copies of the compilation, one of which may have been *transcribed* by Mr Dicconson, while in that published, there are one or two Scotticisms, which point at such a person as Innes. Little can be made of a comparison betwixt the style of this work and that of

<sup>3</sup> Pinkerton's Inquiry, Introduction, 55—7.

<sup>4</sup> We cannot avoid coupling with this feature, the circumstance of our having heard it whispered in the antiquarian world, that a correspondence between Innes and the court of St Germain, lately discovered, shows this to have been the avowed purpose of the author. This we have heard, however, in so vague a manner, that we dare not draw any conclusions against the fair intentions of Innes, farther than as they may be gathered from his own writings.

<sup>5</sup> Preface, 16.

<sup>6</sup> In the Edinburgh Review we discover the following note:—"It is the opinion of the present preserver of the narrative, that it was compiled from original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the superiors of the college, and author of a work entitled '*A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*.'—*Art. on Fox's Life of James II. Ed. Rev. xii. 280.*"

the essay, without an extremely minute examination, as Innes indulged in few peculiarities; but there is to be found in it a general resemblance, certainly more close than what could be caused by mere identity of period.

We are enabled to give but one other notice bearing on the life of this individual. In the portion of the life of James II., transcribed into the chevalier Ramsay's History of Turenne, there is a certificate by the superiors of the Scots college at Paris, dated 24th December, 1734, signed by "Louis Inesse, late principal, Alexander Whiteford, principal, and Thomas Inesse, sub-principal." The Louis Innes who had acted as principal, must be the brother to the historian mentioned by Wodrow.

IRVINE, CHRISTOPHER, an antiquary, philologist, and physician, lived in the seventeenth century, and was a younger son of the family of Irvine of Bonshaw in Lanarkshire. Like his relation, who rendered himself infamous in the cause of royalty by seizing Donald Cargill, Christopher Irvine was a devoted adherent of the Stuarts and of episcopacy. He was turned out of the college of Edinburgh in 1638 or 1639, in consequence of his resisting the national covenant; and by some connexion, the nature of which is not known, with the Irish troubles, which happened not long after, he lost a plentiful patrimony. Of these circumstances he himself informs us, in the address appended to one of his works, as well as of the facts, that "after his travels, the cruel saints were pleased to mortify him seventeen nights with bread and water;" and even after having recalled an act of banishment which they had formerly passed against him, subjected him to the fate of absolute starvation, with only the dubious alternative of "teaching grammar." Having adopted the latter course, we have ascertained from another source<sup>1</sup> that he was schoolmaster first at Leith, and afterwards at Preston. In the course of his exertions in this capacity, he was led to initiate his pupils in Scottish history; and it was out of the information collected for that purpose, along with some notes he received from Mr Alexander Home and Mr Thomas Crawford, formerly professors of humanity in Edinburgh university, that he compiled his Nomenclature of Scottish History, the work by which he is best known. Some time during the commonwealth, he appears to have resumed the profession to which he was bred, and practised first as a surgeon, and finally as a physician in Edinburgh, at the same time that he held a medical appointment in the army of general Monk, by which Scotland was then garrisoned.

We have not been able to discover any earlier publication of Christopher Irvine than a small and very rare volume, entitled *Bellum Grammaticale*, which appeared at Edinburgh in 1650, but of the nature of which, not having seen it, we cannot speak. His second performance was a small volume, now also very rare, having the following elaborate title: "*Medicina Magnetica; or the rare and wonderful art of curing by sympathy, laid open in aphorisms, proved in conclusions, and digested into an easy method drawn from both; wherein the connexion of the causes and effects of these strange operations, are more fully discovered than heretofore. All cleared and confirmed, by pithy reasons, true experiments, and pleasant relations, preserved and published as a master-piece in this skill, by C. de Iryngio, chirurgo-medicine in the army. Printed in the year 1656.*" The dedication, which is dated from Edinburgh, June 3, 1656, and is signed "C. Irvine," is addressed to general Monk, as "chief captain of those forces among whom for diverse years *I have served and prospered*;" and speaking of the kindness of the commander toward his inferiors, he continues—"This is observed by all; this hath been my experience so oft as I had need of favour and protection." We may from these passages argue, that, at the period

<sup>1</sup> Sibbald's *Bibliotheca Scotica*, MS. Adv. Lib.

when he composed this book, Irvine himself was a man of respectable standing as to years, and had not found it inconsistent with his loyalist principles to take office under Cromwell. The work itself is a true literary curiosity. The monstrous and fanciful doctrines which crowd the pages of Paracelsus and Cardan, and which had begun at that period to sink before the demand for logical proof and practical experience, which more accurate minds had made, are here revived, and even exaggerated; while the imagination of the writer seems to have laboured in all quarters of nature, to discover grotesque absurdities. The book, it will be remarked, is a treatise on animal magnetism. We would give his receipt for the method of manufacturing "an animal magnet," did we dare, but propriety compels us to retain our comments for the less original portion of the work. The principles of the author, *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, are laid down in "an hundred aphorisms," which are of such a nature as the following: "Neither souls, nor pure spirits, nor intelligencies can work upon *bodies*, but by means of the *spirit*; for two extremes cannot be joined together without a mean, therefore," it is justly and conclusively argued, "demons appear not but after sacrifices used."—"He that can join a spirit impregnate with the virtue of one body with another, that is now disposed to change, may produce many miracles and monsters."—"He that can by light draw light out of things, or multiply light with light, he knoweth how to add the universal spirit of life to the particular spirit of life, and by this addition do wonders," &c. Nor is his method of supporting his aphorisms by proof less original and conclusive. The readers of *Hudibras* will recollect the story taken from Helemont, of the man who, having lost his nose, procured a new one to be cut from the limb of a porter, on whose death the unfortunate nose grew cold and fell off. The reasoning of Mr Christopher Irvine on this matter is peculiarly metaphysical. "Is not," he says, "all our doctrine here confirmed clearer than the light? was not the insidious nose as animated at the first, so still informed with the soul of the porter? Neither had it any from the man whose nose now it was made, but only nourishment; the power of the assimilation which it hath from its proper form, it took it not from him but from the porter, of whom it was yet truly a part; and who dying, the nose became a dead nose, and did immediately tend to corruption. But who doth not here see, most openly and evidently, a concatenation? otherwise, how could the nose of one that was at Bolonia, enform the nose of one that was at Brussels, but by means of a concatenation?" The curiosity of the matter, presenting a specimen of the speculations in which several Scottish philosophers at that period indulged, may excuse these extracts.

The work to which Irvine's name is most frequently attached, is the "*Historiæ Scoticæ Nomenclatura Latino-Vernacula*;" an explanatory dictionary of the Latin proper names made use of in Scottish history, published at Edinburgh in 1682, and re-published in 1819. The editor of the reprint observes, that he "intended, along with the present edition, to have given the public a short sketch of the life of the author; but this intention he has been obliged to relinquish from want of materials. To numerous enquiries, in many directions, no satisfactory answer was procured, and the editor mentions with regret, that he knows nothing more of this eminent literary character, and profound philologist, than can be collected from his address to the reader." The dedication is to the duke of York; and if we had not been furnished with vast specimens of the capacity of royal stomachs at that period for flattery, we might have suspected Mr Christopher of a little quizzing, when he enlarges on the moderation, the generosity, the kindness to friends, the forgiveness to enemies, displayed by the prince, and especially on his having "so firmly on solid grounds established the protestant religion." Among the other eulogiums is one which may be inter-

preted as somewhat apologetical on the part of the author, in as far as respects his own conduct. "The neglected sufferer for loyalty is now taken into care and favour, and they that have *recovered better principles, are not reproached nor passed by; their transgressions are forgot, and time allowed to take off their evil habit.*" The Nomenclature is a brief general biographical and topographical dictionary of Scotland. With a firm adherence to the fabulous early history, the author shows vast general reading; but, like most authors of the age, he seems to have considered Scotland the centre of greatness, and all other transactions in the world as naturally merging into a connexion with it. Thus in juxtaposition with Argyle, we find "Argivi, Argos, and Arii." And the Dee is discussed beside the Danube.

From the address attached to this volume, we learn that its publication was occasioned by his recent dismissal from the king's service. "And now," he says, "being, as it seemeth by a cruel misrepresentation, turned out of my public employment and livelihood, which the defender of the sincere will return, I have at the desire of the printer, in this interval, revised, &c." Taking the dedication in connexion with this circumstance, there can be little doubt as to the particular object of that composition; and from another document it would appear that he was not unsuccessful in his design. An act of parliament, dated three years later than the publication of the Nomenclature, and ratifying an act of privy council, which had reserved to Irvine the privilege of acting as a physician, independent of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh, just established, proceeds upon a statement by the learned man himself, that "he has been bred liberally in these arts and places that fit men for the practice of physick and chirurgery, and has received all the degrees of the schools that give ornament and authority in these professions, and has practised the same the space of thertie years in the eminentest places and among very considerable persons in this island, and has, by vertue of commissions from his royal master, exerced the dutie of cherurgeon of his guards of horse twenty-eight years together, and has had the charge of chief physician and chirurgeon of his armie."<sup>2</sup> He then states, that he wishes to practise his profession in peace, in the city of Edinburgh, of which he is a burges, and hopes the council "would be pleased not to suffer him, by any new gift or patent to be stated under the partial humors or affronts of (a) new incorporation or college of physicians, composed of men that are altogether his juniors (save doctor Hay) in the studies of phylosophie and practise of physick."

## J

JACK, or JACHÆUS, GILBERT, an eminent metaphysician and medical writer, and professor of philosophy at Leyden, was born at Aberdeen, as has been asserted, (although there seems but slight ground for fixing the date so precisely,) in the year 1578. Early in life, and apparently before he had commenced a regular series of literary study, he lost his father, and was committed by his mother to the private tuition of a person named Thomas Cargill. He afterwards studied under Robert Howie: and as that individual was made principal of Marischal college, on its erection into a university, in 1593, it is probable that Jack obtained a portion of his university education at Aberdeen, although he is mentioned by Freher as having studied philosophy at St Andrews,

<sup>2</sup> Acts of the Scottish parliament, viii. 530-531.

where he was under the tuition of Robert Hay, an eminent theologist.<sup>1</sup> By the advice of his tutor, who probably detected in his mind the dawning of high talent, Jack continued his studies in the universities on the continent. He remained for some time at the colleges of Herborn and Helmstadt; when, incited by the high fame of the university of Leyden, he removed thither, and sought employment as a private teacher, in expectation of eventually obtaining a professorship. His ambition was at length gratified, by his appointment, in 1604, to what has been in general terms called the philosophical chair of that celebrated institution. Scotland, which seems to have acquired a permanent celebrity from the numerous persevering and ambitious men it has dispersed through the world, was at no time so fruitful in its supply of eminent men as during the life-time of the subject of our memoir. Adolphus Vorstius, a person known to fame chiefly from his tributes to the memory of some eminent friends, and colleague of Jack in the university of Leyden, in a funeral oration to his memory, from which the materials for a memoir of Jack are chiefly derived, mentions that at the period we allude to, there was scarcely a college in Europe of any celebrity, which did not number a Scotsman among its professors: and whether from the meagre tuition in our own universities, or other causes, most of the Scotsmen celebrated for learning at that period—and they were not a few—began their career of fame abroad. In the works, or correspondence of the continental scholars of the seventeenth century, we frequently meet with names of Scotsmen now forgotten in their native country, and that of Jack frequently occurs, accompanied with many indications of respect. He is said to have been the first who taught *metaphysics* at Leyden, a statement from which we may at least presume, that he opened new branches of inquiry, and was celebrated for the originality of the system he inculcated. During his professorship at Leyden he studied medicine, and took his degree in that science in 1611.

In 1612, appeared his first work, "*Institutiones Physicæ, Juventutis Lugdunensis Studiis potissimum dicatæ*," republished with notes in 1616. This treatise is dedicated to Matthew Overbeguius (Overbeke), and is in the usual manner prefaced by laudatory addresses, which are from the pens of men of celebrity—Daniel Heinsius, Greek professor of Leyden, (who appropriately uses his professional language,) Gaspard Barlæus, the professor of logic at Leyden, and Theodore Schrevelius (probably father to the Lexicographer Cornelius). This work, notwithstanding its title, will be readily understood to be generally metaphysical, and the portion tending to that species of discussion is that from which a modern student will derive most satisfaction. It consists of nine books. The first is introductory, containing definitions, &c., the second is *De Natura*, the third *De Motu*, the fourth *De Tempore*, the fifth *De Cælo*, the sixth *De Corpore Misto*, the seventh *De Meteoris*, the eighth *De Anima*, and the ninth *De Anima Rationali*. Apart from the doctrines now called vulgar errors, for an adherence to which the limited bounds of our own knowledge must teach us to excuse our forefathers, this work may be perused with interest and even profit. To have departed from the text of Aristotle might have been considered equal in heresy, to a denial of any of the evident laws of nature; but if Jack was like others, a mere commentator on the great lawgiver of philosophers, he frequently clothes original views in correct, clear, and logical language; his discussions on time and motion might not be ungrateful to a student of Hutcheson or Reid; and though almost unknown to his country, and forgotten in his native city, he is no contemptible member of the class of common-sense philosophers of

<sup>1</sup> Freheri Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum, ii. 1353. Jactis utriusque linguæ fundamentis, ad academiam AnJreanam ablegatus, philosophia operam navavit, preceptore usus Roberto Havæo Theologo exifrio.

whom Scotland has boasted. In 1724, Jack published another work, entitled "*Institutiones Medicæ*," republished in 1631. About this period his celebrity had reached the British isles; and, like his illustrious friend and comrade Vossius, the author of the *History of Pelagianism*, he was invited to fill the chair of civil history at Oxford, a proffer he declined. This eminent man died on the 17th day of April, 1628, leaving behind him a widow and ten children. He seems to have been on terms of intimate and friendly familiarity with the greatest men of the age. He is said to have been a hard student, to have possessed vast powers of memory, and to have been more attentive to the elegancies of life, and to his personal appearance, than scholars then generally were.

JACK, or JACHEUS, THOMAS, a classical scholar of eminence, and author of the "*Onomasticon Poeticum*." The period of the birth of this author is unknown: Dr M'Crie has with his usual industry made investigations into his history, but excepting the circumstances to be discovered from the dedication to his work, none but a few barren facts have been found, which must have ill repaid the labours of the search. He was master of the grammar school at Glasgow, but at what period he entered that seminary is unknown. He relinquished the situation in 1574, and became minister of the neighbouring parish of Eastwood, from which, in the manner of the time, he dates his book "*ex sylva vulgo dicta orientali*;" his work is entitled "*Onomasticon Poeticum, sive propriorum quibus in suis monumentis usi sunt veteres Poetæ, brevis descriptio Poetica*;" it is neatly printed in quarto, by Waldegrave, 1592, and is now very rare. It may be described as a versified topographical dictionary of the localities of classical poetry, expressing in a brief sentence, seldom exceeding a couple of lines, some characteristic, which may remind the student of the subject of his readings. He mentions that he has found the system advantageous by experiment; and most of our readers will be reminded of the repeated attempts to teach the rules of grammar, and other matters necessary to be committed to memory, in a similar manner. The subject did not admit of much elegance, and the chief merit of the author will be acknowledged in the perseverance which has amassed so many references to subjects of classical research. A quotation of the first few lines may not be unacceptable:

"Caucæus vates Abaris ventura profatur,  
Argivum bis sextus Albas rex, martis in armis  
Acer, Hypermnestra Lynceoque parentibus ortus;  
Hinc et Abantiadum series dat jura Pelasgis.  
Ex nube Ixion Centaurum gignit Abantem.  
Æneas comitem quo nomino clarus habebat  
Ægypti ad fines Abatos jacet Insula dives:  
Quam areum arnavit lino natura tenaci,  
Armiferae Thracis quondam urbs Abdera celebris."

This passage contains the accounts of Abaris, Abantiadæ, Abas, Abatos, and Abdera.

In the dedication, which is addressed to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, commendator of Paisley, a pupil of the author, Jack complacently mentions, that he had been induced to publish by the recommendation of Andrew Melville and Buchanan, and that the latter eminent person had revised the work, and submitted to a counter revision of works of his own. Prefixed to the *Onomasticon* are encomiastic verses by Robert Pollock, Hercules Pollock, Patrick Sharpe, Andrew Melville, and Sir Thomas Craig. Dr M'Crie has discovered that Thomas Jack, as minister of Rutherglen, was one of those who, in 1582, opposed the election of Ro-



bert Montgomery as archbishop of Glasgow. He appears to have been a member of the General Assembly in 1590; he is mentioned in 1593, as a minister within the bounds of the presbytery of Paisley, and must have died in 1596, as appears from the Testament Testamentar of "Euphame Wylie, relict of umquhill Mr Thomas Jak, minr at Eastwod."

JAMES I., king of Scots, and illustrious both in political and literary history, was born at Dunfermline in the year 1394. He was the third son of Robert III., king of Scots, (whose father, Robert II., was the first sovereign of the Stuart family,) by his consort Annabella, or Annaple Drummond, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, ancestor of the noble family of Perth. It appears that John Stuart, for such was the real name of Robert III., had married Annaple Drummond at a period antecedent to the year 1358; as in 1357, he and his wife received a charter of the earldom of Athol from David II. The unusual period of thirty-seven years at least, must thus have elapsed between the marriage of the parents and the birth of their distinguished son. Their eldest child, David, born in 1373, and created duke of Rothesay, was starved to death by his uncle the duke of Albany in 1402; a second son, John, died in infancy. The inheritance of the crown was thus opened upon prince James at the age of eight years, but under circumstances which rendered the prospect less agreeable than dangerous. The imbecility of Robert III. had permitted the reins of government to be assumed by his brother the duke of Albany, who meditated a transference of the sovereignty to his own family, and scrupled at no measures which might promise to aid him in his object. There was the greatest reason to apprehend that prince James, as well as his elder brother the duke of Rothesay, would be removed by some foul means, through the machinations of Albany; after which, the existence of the king's female children would present but a trifling obstacle to his assuming the rights of heir presumptive.

The education of prince James was early confided to Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, the learned and excellent prelate, who, in founding the university in his metropolitan city, became the originator of that valuable class of institutions in Scotland. Sinclair, earl of Orkney, and Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, were among the barons who superintended the instruction of the prince in martial and athletic exercises. For the express purpose of saving him from the fangs of his uncle, it was resolved by the king, in 1405, to send him to the court of Charles VI. of France, where he might at once be safer in person, and receive a superior education to what could be obtained in his own country. With this view the young prince was privately conducted to East Lothian, and embarked on board a vessel at the isle of the Bass, along with the earl of Orkney and a small party of friends. It would appear that he thus escaped his uncle by a very narrow chance, as Sir David Fleming, in returning from the place of embarkation, was set upon at Long-Hermandstone by the retainers of that wicked personage, and cruelly slain.

James pursued his voyage towards France, till, cruising along the coast of Norfolk, his vessel was seized by a squadron of armed merchantmen, commanded by John Jolyff, and belonging to the port of Clay. Though this event took place in the time of a truce between the two countries, (April 12, 1405,) Henry IV. of England reconciled his conscience to the detention of the prince, for which, indeed, it is highly probable he had made some arrangements previously with the duke of Albany, his faithful ally, and the imitator of his conduct. When the earl of Orkney presented a remonstrance against such an unjustifiable act, asserting that the education of the prince was the sole object of his voyage to France, he turned it off with a jest, to the effect, that he was as well acquainted with the French language, and could teach it as well as the king of

France,<sup>1</sup> so that the prince would lose nothing by remaining where he was. He soon showed, however, the value which he attached to the possession of the prince's person, by shutting him up in the castle of Pevensey in Sussex. The aged king of Scotland sank under this new calamity; and, dying April 4, 1406, left the nominal sovereignty to his captive son, but the real power of the state to his flagitious brother, the duke of Albany, who assumed the title of governor.

Having no design against the mind of his captive, Henry furnished him in a liberal manner with the means of continuing his education. Sir John Pelham, the constable of Pevensey castle, and one of the most distinguished knights of the age, was appointed his governor; and masters were provided for instructing him in various accomplishments and branches of knowledge. To quote the words of Mr Tytler,<sup>2</sup> "In all athletic and manly exercises, in the use of his weapons, in his skill in horsemanship, his speed in running, his strength and dexterity as a wrestler, his firm and fair aim as a joister and tourneyer, the young king is allowed by all contemporary writers to have arrived at a pitch of excellence which left most of his own age far behind him; and as he advanced to maturity, his figure, although not so tall as to be majestic or imposing, was, from its make, peculiarly adapted for excellence in such accomplishments. His chest was broad and full, his arms somewhat long and muscular, his flanks thin and spare, and his limbs beautifully formed; so as to combine elegance and lightness with strength. In throwing the hammer, and propelling, or, to use the Scottish phrase, 'putting' the stone, and in skill in archery, we have the testimony of an ancient chronicle, that none in his own dominions could surpass him. \* \* \* To skill in warlike exercises, every youthful candidate for honour and for knighthood was expected to unite a variety of more pacific and elegant accomplishments, which were intended to render him a delightful companion in the hall, as the others were calculated to make him a formidable enemy in the field. The science of music, both instrumental and vocal; the composition and recitation of ballads, roundelays, and other minor pieces of poetry; an acquaintance with the romances and the writings of the popular poets of the times—were all essential branches in the system of education which was then adopted in the castle of any feudal chief; and from Pelham, who had himself been brought up as the squire of the duke of Lancaster, we may be confident that the Scottish king received every advantage which could be conferred by skilful instructors, and by the most ample opportunities of cultivation and improvement. Such lessons and exhibitions, however, might have been thrown away upon many, but James had been born with those natural capacities which fitted him to excel in them. He possessed a fine and correct musical ear; a voice which was rich, flexible, and sufficiently powerful for chamber music; and an enthusiastic delight in the art, which, unless controlled by strong good sense, and a feeling of the higher destinies to which he was called, might have led to a dangerous devotion to it. \* \* \* Cut off for a long and tedious period from his crown and his people, James could afford to spend many hours each day in the cultivation of accomplishments to which, under other circumstances, it would have been criminal to have given up so much of his time. And this will easily account for that high musical excellence to which he undoubtedly attained, and will explain the great variety of instruments upon which he performed. \* \* \* He was acquainted with the Latin language, as far, at least, as was permitted by the rude and barbarous condition in which it existed previous to the revival of letters. In theology, oratory, and grammar—

<sup>1</sup> It will be recollected that French was the common language of the court of England, and of all legal and public business, till the age following that of Henry IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, ii. 263.

in the civil and canon laws, he was instructed by the best masters; and an acquaintance with Norman-French was necessarily acquired at a court where it was still currently spoken and highly cultivated. Devoted, however, as he was to these pursuits, James appears to have given his mind with a still stronger bias to the study of English poetry, choosing Chaucer and Gower for his masters in the art, and entering with the utmost ardour into the great object of the first of these illustrious men—the improvement of the English language, the production of easy and natural rhymes, and the refinement of poetical numbers from the rude compositions which had preceded him.”

Thus passed years of restraint, unmarked by any other incident than removal from one place of captivity to another, till the death of Henry IV. in 1414. On the very day after this event, the “gallant” Henry V. ordered his royal prisoner to be removed to close confinement in the Tower. In general, however, the restraint imposed upon the young king was not inconsistent with his enjoyment of the pleasures of life, among which one of the most agreeable must have been the intercourse which he was allowed to hold with his Scottish friends. It is the opinion of Mr Tytler, that the policy of the English kings in this matter was much regulated by the terror in which they held a mysterious person residing at the Scottish court, under the designation of king Richard, and who was the object of perpetual conspiracies among the enemies of the house of Lancaster. It is at least highly probable that Albany kept up that personage as a kind of bug-bear, to induce the English monarch to keep a close guard over his nephew.

The duke of Albany died in 1419, and was succeeded as governor by his eldest son Murdoch, who was as weak as his father had been energetic and ambitious. About the same time, a large party of Scottish knights and their retainers proceeded, under the command of the earl of Buchan, second son of Albany, to assist the French king in repelling the efforts which Henry V. of England was making to gain the sovereignty of France. In the hope, perhaps, of gaining his deliverance, James was persuaded by king Henry to accompany him to France, and to join with him in taking the opposite side to that which was assumed by this party of his subjects. But of this part of his life no clear account is preserved; only the consideration which he attained with the English king is amply proved by his acting (1422) as chief mourner at his funeral. This, however, was an event which he had little reason to regret, as it opened a prospect of his obtaining his liberty, a circumstance which would scarcely have taken place during the life of Henry; or, at least, while that prince lived, James could not look forward to any definite period for the termination of his captivity.

The duke of Bedford, who was appointed protector of England on the death of Henry, adopting a wiser policy with regard to Scotland than that monarch had pursued, offered to deliver up the Scottish king on payment of a ransom of forty thousand pounds, to be paid within six years by half yearly payments, and that hostages should be given for the faithful liquidation of the debt. The English, disavowing the term ransom as derogatory, in this instance, to the national character and dignity, alleged that the pecuniary consideration was demanded as payment of the king's maintenance while in England; but as Henry V. allowed only £700 a-year for this purpose, and the term of James's captivity was about nineteen years, giving thus an amount of something more than £13,000 altogether, it is pretty evident that they did not intend to be losers by the transaction—though, as the money was never paid, they certainly were not gainers. After a good deal of delay, and much discussion on both sides, the arrangement for the liberation of the king was finally adjusted by the Scottish commissioners, who proceeded to London for that purpose, on the 9th of March,

1423; and amongst other securities for the stipulated sum, tendered that of the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Previously to his leaving England, James married Joanna, daughter of the duchess of Clarence, niece of Richard II. To this lady the Scottish monarch had been long attached. Her beauty had inspired his muse, and was the frequent theme of his song. Amongst the poems attributed to the royal poet, there is one, entitled "A Sang on Absence," beginning "Sen that the eyne that workis my weillfair," in which he bewails, in strains breathing the warmest and most ardent attachment, the absence of his mistress; and in the still more elaborate production of the "King's Quain," he thus speaks of her:—

"Of hir array, the form gif I sall write  
Toward her goldin haire and rich atyre,  
In fret wise couchit with perlis white;  
And grete balas lemyng as the fire,  
With many ane emerant and saphire;  
And on hir hide a chaplet fresh of hewe  
Of plumys partit rede, and white, and blue."

In this beautiful poem the enamoured king describes himself as having first fallen in love with his future queen, as she was walking in the gardens under the tower at Windsor in which he was confined.

It is probable that he lost no time in making his fair enslaver aware of the conquest she had made, and it is also likely that her walks under the tower were not rendered less frequent by the discovery. The splendour of Joanna's dress, as described in this poem, is very remarkable. She seems to have been covered with jewels, and to have been altogether arrayed in the utmost magnificence; not improbably, in the consciousness of the eyes that were upon her. The result, at all events, shows that the captive prince must have found means sooner or later of communicating with the fair idol of his affections.

The marriage ceremony was performed at the church of St Mary's Overy in Southwark; the king receiving with his bride as her marriage portion, a discharge for ten thousand pounds of his ransom money!

James was in the thirtieth year of his age when he was restored to his liberty and his kingdom. Proceeding first to Edinburgh, where he celebrated the festival of Easter, he afterwards went on to Scone, accompanied by his queen, where they were both solemnly crowned; Murdoch duke of Albany, as earl of Fife, performing the ceremony of installing the sovereign on the throne.

Immediately after the coronation, James convoked a parliament in Perth, and by the proceedings of that assembly, gave intimation to the kingdom of the commencement of a vigorous reign. Amongst many other wise and judicious ordinations, this national council enacted, that the king's peace should be firmly held, and no private wars allowed, and that no man should travel with a greater number of retainers than he could maintain; that a sufficient administration of law be appointed throughout the realm; and that no extortion from churchmen or farmers in particular be admitted. James had early been impressed with the necessity of arresting with a vigorous and unsparing hand, the progress of that system of fraud and rapine to which the country had been a prey during the regencies that preceded his accession to the throne, a policy which, perhaps, though both necessary and just, there is some reason to believe he carried too far, or at least prosecuted with a mind not tempered by judicious and humane considerations. When first informed, on his arrival in the kingdom, of the lawlessness which prevailed in it, he is said to have exclaimed, "By the help of God, though I should myself lead the life of a dog, I shall make the key keep

the castle, and the bush secure the cow." Than such a resolution as this, nothing could have been wiser or more praiseworthy, and he certainly did all he could, and probably more than he ought, to accomplish the desirable end which the sentiment proposes; but he seems to have been somewhat indiscriminating in his vengeance. This indiscrimination may be only apparent, and may derive its character from the imperfectness of the history of that period; but as we judge of the good by what is upon record, we are bound to judge of the bad by the same rule; and it would be rather a singular mischance, if error and misrepresentation were always and exclusively on the side of the latter. It is, at any rate, certain, that a remarkable humanity, or any remarkable inclination to the side of mercy, were by no means amongst the number of James's good qualities, numerous though these assuredly were. With the best intentions towards the improvement of his kingdom, and the bettering of the condition of his subjects, James had yet the misfortune to excite, at the commencement of his reign, a very general feeling of dissatisfaction with his government.

This, amongst the aristocracy, proceeded from the severity with which he threatened to visit their offences; and amongst the common people, from his having imposed a tax to pay the ransom money stipulated for his release from captivity. This tax was proposed to be levied at the rate of twelve pennies in the pound on all sorts of produce, on farms and annual rents, cattle and grain, and to continue for two years. The tax was with great difficulty collected the first year, but in the second the popular impatience and dissatisfaction became so general and so marked, that the king thought it advisable to abandon it; and the consequence was, as already remarked, that the debt was never discharged. The reluctance of the nation to pay the price of their prince's freedom may appear ungenerous, and as implying an indifference towards him personally; but this is not a necessary, nor is it the only conclusion which may be inferred from the circumstance. It is probable that they may have considered the demand of England unreasonable and unjust, and it certainly was both, seeing that James was no prisoner of war, but had been made captive at a time when the two kingdoms were at peace with each other. To make him prisoner, therefore, and make him pay for it too, seems indeed to have been rather a hard case, and such it was probably esteemed by his subjects. The policy which James proposed to adopt, was not limited to the suppression of existing evils or to the prevention of their recurrence in time to come, but extended to the punishing of offences long since committed, and of which, in many instances, though we are told the results, we are left uninformed of the crime. At the outset of his reign he had ordered the arrest of Walter, eldest son of Murdoch, duke of Albany, the late regent, together with that of Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock; and soon afterwards, taking advantage of the circumstance of a meeting of parliament at Perth, which he had convoked probably for the purpose of bringing them within his reach, he ordered the arrest of Murdoch himself, his second son, Alexander Stewart, the earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, and twenty other gentlemen of note.

The vengeance, however, which gave rise to this proceeding, was followed out only in the case of Albany; at least his punishment only is recorded in the accounts given by our historians of this transaction, while all the others are allowed to drop out of sight without any further notice of them in connexion with that event. Indeed the whole of this period of Scottish history is exceedingly obscure; much of it is confused, inconsistent, and inexplicable, and is therefore indebted almost wholly to conjecture for any interest it possesses, and perhaps no portion of it is more obscure than that which includes the occurrence which has just been alluded to. The king's vengeance is said to have been

exclusively aimed at Albany. Then, wherefore the arrest of the others? Because, it is said they were the friends of the late regent, and might have defeated the ends of justice had they been left at liberty, or at least might have been troublesome in the event of his condemnation. But how is this to be reconciled with the fact, that several of those arrested with Albany were of the jury that found him guilty on his trial, which took place a few weeks afterwards? All that we certainly know of this matter, is, that Murdoch was committed a close prisoner to Carlaverock castle, while his duchess, Isabella, shared a similar fate in Tantallon, and that the king immediately after seized upon, and took possession of his castles of Falkland in Fife, and Downe in Menteith; that soon afterwards, Albany, with his two sons, Walter and Alexander, together with the aged earl of Lennox, were brought to trial, condemned to death, and beheaded. The principal offence, so far as is known, for on this point also, there is much obscurity, charged against those unfortunate persons, was their having dilapidated the royal revenues while the king was captive in England. The fate of the two sons of the regent, who were remarkably stout and handsome young men, excited a good deal of commiseration. The moment their sentence was pronounced, they were led out to execution. Their father and Lennox were beheaded on the following day. The scene of this tragedy was a rising ground immediately adjoining Stirling castle.

It is not improbable, that circumstances unknown to us may have warranted this instance of sanguinary severity on the part of the king; but it is unfortunate for his memory, that these circumstances, if they did exist, should be unknown; for as it now stands, he cannot be acquitted of cruelty in this case, as well as some others, otherwise than by alleging, that he was incapable of inflicting an unmerited punishment,—a defence more generous than satisfactory. The parliaments, however, which James convoked, continued remarkable for the wisdom of their decrees, for the number of salutary laws which they enacted, and for the anxiety generally which they discovered for the prosperity of the kingdom. Amongst the most curious of their laws is one which forbids any man who has accused another, from being of the jury on his trial! It is not easy to conceive what were the notions of jurisprudence which permitted the existence of the practice which this statute is meant to put an end to. The allowing the accuser to be one of the jury on the trial of the person he has accused, seems an absurdity and impropriety too palpable and gross to be apologized for, even by the rudeness and barbarity of the times. Another curious statute of this period enacts, that no traveller shall lodge with his friends, but at the common inn. The object of this was to encourage these institutions, only about this time first established in Scotland. They seem, however, very soon to have become popular, as it was shortly afterwards enjoined by act of parliament, that no one should remain in taverns after nine o'clock at night. This of course was meant only to apply to those who resided near the spot, and not to travellers at a distance from their homes.

The subjugation of the Highlands and Isles next occupied the attention of the stern and active monarch. These districts were in the most lawless state, and neither acknowledged the authority of the parliament nor the king. With the view of introducing a better order of things into these savage provinces, and of bringing to condign punishment some of the most turbulent chieftains, James assembled a parliament at Inverness, and specially summoned the heads of the clans to attend it. The summons was obeyed, and about fifty chieftains of various degrees of note and power arrived at Inverness at the appointed time, and were all made prisoners; amongst the rest, Alexander, lord of the Isles. Several of them were instantly beheaded after a summary trial, the others were

distributed throughout the different prisons of the kingdom, or kept in ward at the castles of the nobility. The greater part of them were afterwards put to death, and the remainder finally restored to liberty. With a degree of cruelty which the case does not seem to warrant, the countess of Ross, the mother of the lord of the Isles, was made a prisoner along with her son, and was long detained in captivity in the island of Inch Combe in the Firth of Forth. Alexander, after a year's confinement, was allowed to return to his own country, on condition that he would in future refrain from all acts of violence; his mother in the mean time being held a hostage for his good conduct.

Equally regardless, however, of his promises and the predicament of his parent, he, soon after regaining his liberty, with a large body of followers attacked and burned the town of Inverness. James, to revenge this outrage, instantly collected an army and marched against the perpetrator, whom he overtook in the neighbourhood of Lochaber. A battle ensued, in which the lord of the Isles, who is said to have had an army of ten thousand men under him, was totally defeated. Humbled by this misfortune, Alexander soon after made an attempt to procure a reconciliation with the king, but failing in this, he finally resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the sovereign. With this view he came privately to Edinburgh, and attired only in his shirt and drawers, he placed himself before the high altar of Holyrood church, and on his knees, in presence of the queen and a number of nobles, presented his naked sword to the king. For this act of humiliation and humble submission, his life was spared; but he was ordered into close confinement in the castle of Tantallon. Some curious and interesting considerations naturally present themselves when contemplating the transactions just spoken of. Amongst these a wonder is excited to find the summons of the king to the fierce, lawless chieftains of the Highlands so readily obeyed. To see them walk so tamely into the trap which was laid for them, when they must have known, from the previous character of the king, that if they once placed themselves within his reach, they might be assured of being subjected to punishment. Supposing, again, that they were deceived as to his intentions, and had no idea that he meant them any personal violence, but were inveigled within his power by faithless assurances; it then becomes matter of astonishment, that in the very midst of their clans, in the heart of their own country, and in the immediate neighbourhood of their inaccessible retreats, the king should have been able, without meeting with any resistance, to take into custody and carry away as prisoners, no fewer than fifty powerful chieftains, and even to put some of them to death upon the spot. This wonder is not lessened by finding that the lord of the Isles himself could bring into the field ten thousand men, while the greater part of the others could muster from five hundred to five thousand each; and it might be thought that, however great was their enmity to each other, they would have made common cause in such a case as this, and have all united in rescuing their chiefs from the hands of him who must have appeared their common enemy; but no such effort was made, and the whole Highlands as it were looked quietly on and permitted their chief men to be carried away into captivity. In the midst of these somewhat inexplicable considerations, however, there is one very evident and remarkable circumstance; this is the great power of the king, which could thus enable him to enforce so sweeping an act of justice in so remote and barbarous a part of his kingdom; and perhaps a more striking instance of the existence of that extraordinary power, and of terror inspired by the royal name, is not to be found in the pages of Scottish history.

The parliament of James, directed evidently by the spirit of the monarch, continued from time to time to enact the most salutary laws. In 1427, it was

decreed, that a fine of ten pounds should be imposed upon burgesses who, being summoned, should refuse to attend parliament, without showing satisfactory cause for their absence; and in the same year several acts were passed for the punishment of murder and felony. The first of these acts, however, was repealed in the following year, by introducing a new feature into the legislature of the kingdom. The attendance of small barons or freeholders in parliament was dispensed with, on condition that each shire sent two commissioners, whose expenses were to be paid by the freeholders. Another singular decree was also passed this year, enjoining the successors and heirs of prelates and barons to take an oath of fidelity to the queen. This was an unusual proceeding, but not an unwise one, as it was evidently a provision for the event of the king's death, should it happen during the minority of his heir and successor. It did so happen; and though history is silent on the subject, there is reason to believe that the queen enjoyed the advantage which the act intended to secure to her.

In the year 1428, James wisely strengthened the Scottish alliance with France, by betrothing his eldest daughter, Margaret, but yet in her infancy, to the dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., also at this time a mere child. This contract, however, was not carried into effect until the year 1436, when the dauphin had attained his thirteenth year, and his bride her twelfth. The marriage eventually proved an exceedingly unhappy one. The husband of the Scottish princess was a man of the worst dispositions, and unfortunately there were others about him no less remarkable for their bad qualities. One of these, Jamet de Villy, impressed him, by tales which were afterwards proven to be false, with a suspicion of the dauphiness's fidelity. Though innocent, the unhappy princess was so deeply affected by the infamous accusations which were brought against her, that she took to bed, and soon after died of a broken heart, exclaiming before she expired, "Ah! Jamet, Jamet, you have gained your purpose;" such mild but affecting expressions being all that her hard fate and the malice of her enemies could elicit from the dying princess. Jamet was afterwards proven, in a legal investigation which took place into the cause of the death of Margaret, to be a "scoundrel" and "common liar." The death of this princess took place nine years after the marriage, and seven after the death of her father; who, had he been alive, would not, it is probable, have permitted the treatment of his daughter to have passed without some token of his resentment.

The short remaining portion of James's life, either from the defectiveness of the records of that period, or because they really did not occur, presents us with few events of any great importance. Amongst those worthy of any notice, are, a commercial league of one hundred years, entered into between Scotland and Flanders; the passing of a sumptuary law, forbidding any one but lords and knights, their eldest sons and heirs, from wearing silks and furs; a decree declaring all Scotsmen traitors who travel into England without the king's leave. Another enjoined all barons and lords having lands on the western or northern seas, particularly those opposite to the islands, to furnish a certain number of galleys, according to their tenures; an injunction which was but little attended to. In 1431, James renewed the treaty of peace with England, then just expiring, for five years. In this year also, a desperate encounter took place at Inverlochy, between Donald Balloch, and the earls of Mar and Caithness, in which the former was victorious. The earl of Caithness, with sixteen squires of his family, fell in this sanguinary engagement. Another conflict, still more deadly, took place about the same time in Strathnavern, between Angus Duff, chief of the Mackays of that district, and Angus Moray. There were twelve hundred men on either side, and it is said, that on the termination of the fight there were scarcely nine left alive.



James, in the mean time, proceeded with his system of hostility to the nobles, availing himself of every opportunity which presented itself of humbling them, and of lessening their power. He threw into prison his own nephews, the earl of Douglas, and Sir John Kennedy, and procured the forfeiture of the estates of the earl of March. The reasons for the first act of severity are now unknown. That for the second was, that the earl of March's father had been engaged in rebellion against the kingdom during the regency of Albany. The policy of James in arraying himself against his nobles, and maintaining an attitude of hostility towards them during his reign, seems of very questionable propriety, to say nothing of the apparent character of unmerited severity which it assumes in many instances. He no doubt found on his arrival in the kingdom, many crimes to punish amongst that class, and much feudal tyranny to suppress; but it is not very evident that his success would have been less, or the object which he aimed at less surely accomplished, had he done this with a more lenient hand. By making the nobles his friends in place of his enemies, he would assuredly have established and maintained the peace of the kingdom still more effectually than he did. They were men, rude as they were, who would have yielded a submission to a personal affection for their prince, which they would, and did refuse to his authority as a ruler. James erred in aiming at governing by fear, when he should have governed by love. A splendid proof of his error in this particular is presented in the conduct of his great grand-son, James IV. who pursued a directly opposite course with regard to his nobles, and with results infinitely more favourable to the best interests of the kingdom. Only one event now of any moment occurs until the premature death of James; this is the siege of Roxburgh. To revenge an attempt which had been made by the English to intercept his daughter on her way to France, he raised an army of, it has been computed, two hundred thousand men, and marching into England, besieged the castle of Roxburgh; but after spending fifteen days before that stronghold, and expending nearly all the missive arms in the kingdom, he was compelled to abandon the siege, and to return with his army without having effected any thing at all commensurate with the extent of his preparations, or the prodigious force which accompanied him. The melancholy catastrophe in which his existence terminated was now fast approaching,—the result of his own harsh conduct and unforgiving disposition.

The nobles, wearied out with his oppressions, seem latterly to have been restrained only by a want of unanimity amongst themselves from revenging the injuries they had sustained at his hands, or by a want of individual resolution to strike the fatal blow. At length one appeared who possessed the courage necessary for the performance of this desperate deed. This person was Sir Robert Graham, uncle to the earl of Strathern. He also had been imprisoned by James, and was therefore his enemy on personal as well as general grounds.

At this crisis of the dissatisfaction of the nobles, Graham offered, in a meeting of the latter, to state their grievances to the king, and to demand the redress of these grievances, provided those who then heard him would second him in so doing. The lords accepted his offer, and pledged themselves to support him. Accordingly, in the very next parliament Graham rose up, and having advanced to where the king was seated, laid his hand upon his shoulder, and said "I arrest you in the name of all the three estates of your realm here assembled in parliament, for as your people have sworn to obey you, so are you constrained by an equal oath to govern by law, and not to wrong your subjects, but in justice to maintain and defend them." Then turning round to the assembled lords, "Is it not thus as I say?" he exclaimed;—but the appeal remained unanswered. Either awed by the royal presence, or thinking that Graham had gone

too far, the lords meanly declined to afford him the support which they had promised him. That Graham had done a rash thing, and had said more than his colleagues meant he should have said, is scarcely an apology for their deserting him as they did in the hour of trial. They ought at least to have afforded him some countenance, and to have acknowledged so much of his reproof as they were willing should have been administered; and there is little doubt that a very large portion of its spirit was theirs also, although they seem to have lacked the courage to avow it. Graham was instantly ordered into confinement, and was soon after deprived of all his possessions and estates, and banished the kingdom. Brooding over his misfortunes, and breathing vengeance against him who was the cause of them, the daring exile retired to the remotest parts of the Highlands, and there arranged and perfected his plans of revenge. He first wrote letters to the king, renouncing his allegiance and defying his wrath, upbraiding him with being the ruin of himself, his wife, and his children, and concluded with declaring that he would put him to death with his own hand, if opportunity should offer. The answer to these threats and defiance was a proclamation which the king immediately issued, promising three thousand demies of gold, of the value of half an English noble each, to any one who should bring in Graham dead or alive.

The king's proclamation, however, was attended with no effect. The object of it not only remained in safety in his retreat, but proceeded to mature the schemes of vengeance which he meditated against his sovereign. He opened a correspondence with several of the nobility, in which he unfolded the treason which he designed, and offered to assassinate the king with his own hand.

The general dislike which was entertained for James, and which was by no means confined to the aristocracy, for his exactions had rendered his government obnoxious also to the common people, soon procured for Graham a powerful co-operation; and the result was, that a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, and which included even some of the king's most familiar domestics, was speedily formed. In the mean time, the king, unconscious of the fate which was about to overtake him, had removed with his court to Perth to celebrate the festival of Christmas. While on his way thither, according to popular tradition, he was accosted by a soothsayer, who forewarned him of the disaster which was to happen him. "My lord king," she said, for it was a prophetess who spoke, "if ye pass this water," (the Forth) "ye shall never return again alive." The king is said to have been much struck by the oracular intimation, and not the less so that he had read in some prophecy a short while before, that in that year a king of Scotland should be slain. The monarch, however, did not himself deign on this occasion to interrogate the soothsayer as to what she meant, but deputed the task to one of the knights, whom he desired to turn aside and hold some conversation with her. This gentleman soon after rejoined the king, and representing the prophetess as a foolish inebriated woman, recommended to his majesty to pay no attention to what she had said. Accordingly no further notice seems to have been taken of the circumstance. The royal party crossed the water and arrived in safety at Perth; the king, with his family and domestics, taking up his residence at the Dominicans' or Blackfriars' monastery. The conspirators, in the mean time, fully informed of his motions, had so far completed their arrangements as to have fixed the night on which he should be assassinated. This was, according to some authorities, the night of the second Wednesday of lent, or the 27th day of February; by others, the first Wednesday of lent, or between the twentieth or twenty-first of that month, in the year 1437; and the latter is deemed the more accurate date. James spent the earlier

part of the evening in playing chess with one of his knights, whom, for his remarkable devotion to the fair sex he humorously nicknamed the King of Love. The king was in high spirits during the progress of the game, and indulged in a number of jokes at the expense of his brother king; but the dark hints which he had had of his fate, seemed, as it were in spite of himself, to have made an impression upon him, and were always present to him even in his merriest moods, and it was evidently under this feeling that he said—more in earnest than in joke, though he endeavoured to give it the latter character—to his antagonist in the game, “Sir King of Love, it is not long since I read a prophecy which foretold that in this year a king should be slain in this land, and ye know well, sir, that there are no kings in this realm but you and I. I therefore advise you to look carefully to your own safety, for I give you warning that I shall see that mine is sufficiently provided for.” Shortly after this a number of lords and knights thronged into the king’s chamber, and the mirth, pastime, and joke went on with increased vigour. In the midst of the revelry, however, the king received another warning of his approaching fate. “My lord,” said one of his favourite squires, tempted probably by the light tone of the conversation which was going forward, “I have dreamed that Sir Robert Graham should have slain you.” The earl of Orkney, who was present, rebuked the squire for the impropriety of his speech, but the king, differently affected, said that he himself had dreamed a terrible dream on the very night of which his attendant spoke.

In the mean time, the night wore on, and all still remained quiet in and around the monastery; but at this very moment, Graham, with three hundred fierce Highlanders, was lurking in the neighbourhood, waiting the midnight hour to break in upon the ill-fated monarch. The mirth and pastime in the king’s chamber continued until supper was served, probably about nine o’clock at night. As the hour of this repast approached, however, all retired excepting the earl of Athol and Robert Stuart, the king’s nephew, and one of his greatest favourites,—considerations which could not bind him to the unfortunate monarch, for he too was one of the conspirators, and did more than any one of them to facilitate the murderous intentions of his colleagues, by destroying the fastenings of the king’s chamber door. After supper the amusements of the previous part of the evening were resumed, and chess, music, singing, and the reading of romances, wiled away the next two or three hours. On this fatal evening another circumstance occurred, which might have aroused the suspicions of the king, if he had not been most unaccountably insensible to the frequent hints and indirect intimations which he had received of some imminent peril hanging over him. The same woman who had accosted him before crossing the firth again appeared, and knocking at his chamber door at a late hour of the night, sought to be admitted to the presence of the king. “Tell him,” she said to the usher who came forth from the apartment when she knocked, “that I am the same woman who not long ago desired to speak with him when he was about to cross the sea, and that I have something to say to him.” The usher immediately conveyed the message to the king, but he being wholly engrossed by the game in which he was at the instant engaged, merely ordered her to return on the morrow. “Well,” replied the disappointed soothsayer, as she at the first interview affected to be, “ye shall all of you repent that I was not permitted just now to speak to the king.” The usher laughing at what he conceived to be the expressions of a fool, ordered the woman to begone, and she obeyed. The night was now wearing late, and the king, having put an end to the evening’s amusements, called for the parting cup. This drunk, the party broke up, and James retired to his bed-chamber, where he found the queen and her ladies amusing themselves with cheerful conversation. The king, now in his

night-gown and slippers, placed himself before the fire, and joined in the badinage which was going forward. At this moment the king was suddenly startled by a great noise at the outside of his chamber door, or rather in the passage which led to it. The sounds were those of a crowd of armed men pressing hurriedly forward. There was a loud clattering and jingling of arms and armour, accompanied by the gleaming of torches. The king seems to have instantly apprehended danger, a feeling which either he had communicated to the ladies in the apartment, or they had of themselves conceived, for they immediately rushed to the door with the view of securing it, but they found all the fastenings destroyed, and a bar which should have been there removed.

This being intimated to the king, he called out to the ladies to hold fast the door as well as they could, until he could find something wherewith to defend himself; and he flew to the window of the apartment and endeavoured to wrench away one of the iron staunchions for this purpose, but the bar resisted all his efforts. In this moment of horror and despair, the unhappy monarch next seized the tongs, which lay by the fireside, and by their means, and with some desperate efforts of personal strength, he tore up a portion of the floor, and instantly descending through the aperture into a mean receptacle which was underneath the chamber, drew the boards down after him to their original position. In the mean time the ladies had contrived to keep out the conspirators, and, in this effort, it is said, Catharine Douglas had one of her arms broken, by having thrust it into the wall in place of the bar which had been removed. The assassins, however, at length forced their way into the apartment; and here a piteous scene now ensued. The queen stood in the middle of the floor, bereft of speech and of all power of motion by her terror, while her ladies, several of whom were severely hurt and wounded, filled the apartment with the most lamentable cries and shrieks.

One of the ruffians on entering inflicted a severe wound on the queen, and would have killed her outright, but for the interference of one of the sons of Sir Robert Graham, who, perceiving the dastard about to repeat the blow, exclaimed "What would ye do to the queen? for shame of yourself, she is but a woman; let us go and seek the king." The conspirators, who were all armed with swords, daggers, axes, and other weapons, now proceeded to search for the king. They examined all the beds, presses, and other probable places of concealment, overturned forms and chairs, but to no purpose; the king could not be found, nor could they conceive how he had escaped them. The conspirators, baulked in their pursuit, dispersed themselves throughout the different apartments to extend their search. This creating a silence in the apartment immediately above the king, the unfortunate monarch conceived the conspirators had entirely withdrawn, and in his impatience to get out of his disagreeable situation, called out to the ladies to bring him sheets for that purpose. In the attempt which immediately followed to raise him up by these means, Elizabeth Douglas, another of the queen's waiting-maids, fell into the hole in which the king was concealed. At this moment, Thomas Chambers, one of the assassins, and who was also one of the king's domestics, entered the apartment, and perceiving the opening in the floor, he immediately proceeded towards it, and looking down into the cellar, with the assistance of his torch discovered the king.

On describing the object of his search, Chambers exultingly called out to his companions, "Sirs, the bride is found for whom we sought, and for whom we have caroled here all night." The joyful tidings instantly brought a crowd of the conspirators to the spot, and amongst the rest, Sir John Hall, who, with a large knife in his hand, hastily descended to the king's hiding-place. The latter, however, who was a man of great personal strength, instantly seized the assassin and threw him down at his feet; and his brother, who followed, shared

the same treatment—the king holding them both by their throats, and with such a powerful grasp, that they bore marks of the violence for a month afterwards. The unfortunate monarch now endeavoured to wrest their knives from the assassins, and in the attempt had his hands severely cut and mangled.

Sir Robert Graham, who had hitherto been merely looking on, now seeing that the Halls could not accomplish the murder of the king, also descended, and with a drawn sword in his hand. Unable to cope with them all, and exhausted with the fearful struggle which he had maintained with the two assassins; weaponless and disabled in his hands, the king implored Graham for mercy. "Cruel tyrant," replied the regicide, "thou hadst never mercy on thy kindred nor on others who fell within thy power, and therefore, thou shalt have no mercy from me." "Then I beseech thee, for the salvation of my soul, that thou wilt permit me to have a confessor," said the miserable prince. "Thou shalt have no confessor but the sword," replied Graham, thrusting his victim through the body with his weapon. The king fell, but the stroke was not instantly fatal. He continued in the most piteous tones to supplicate mercy from his murderer, offering him half his kingdom if he would but spare his life. The heart-rending appeals of the hapless monarch shook even Graham's resolution, and he was about to desist from doing him further injury, when his intentions being perceived by the conspirators from above, they called out to him that if he did not complete the deed, he should himself suffer death at their hands. Urged on by this threat, the three assassins again attacked the king, and finally despatched him, having inflicted sixteen deadly wounds on his chest, besides others on different parts of his body. As if every circumstance which could facilitate his death had conspired to secure that event, it happened that the king, some days before he was murdered, had directed that an aperture in the place where he had concealed himself, and by which he might have escaped, should be built up, as the balls with which he played at tennis in the court yard were apt to be lost in it. After completing the murder of the king, the assassins sought for the queen, whom, dreading her vengeance, they proposed to put also to death; but she had escaped. A rumour of the tragical scene that was enacting at the monastery having spread through the town, great numbers of the citizens and of the king's servants, with arms and torches hastened to the spot, but too late, to the assistance of the murdered monarch. The conspirators, however, all escaped for the time, excepting one, who was killed by Sir David Dunbar, who had himself three fingers cut off in the contest. This brave knight had alone attacked the flying conspirators, but was overpowered and left disabled.

In less than a month, such was the activity of the queen's vengeance, all the principal actors in this appalling tragedy were in custody, and were afterwards put to the most horrible deaths. Stuart and Chambers, who were the first taken, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, having been previously lacerated all over with sharp instruments. Graham was carried through the streets of Edinburgh in a cart, in a state of perfect nudity, with his right hand nailed to an upright post, and surrounded with men, who, with sharp hooks and knives, and red hot irons, kept constantly tearing at and burning his miserable body, until he was completely covered with wounds. Having undergone this, he was again thrown into prison, and on the following day brought out to execution. The wretched man had, when released from his tortures, wrapped himself in a coarse woollen Scottish plaid, which adhering to his wounds, caused him much pain in the removal. When this operation was performed, and it was done with no gentle hand, the miserable sufferer fainted, and fell to the ground with the agony. On recovering, which he did not do for nearly a quarter of an hour, he said to those around him, that the rude manner in which the mantle had

been removed, had given him greater pain than any he had yet suffered. To increase the horrors of his situation, his son was disembowelled alive before his face.

James I. perished in the forty-fourth year of his age, after an actual reign of thirteen years. His progeny were, a son, his successor, and five daughters. These were, Margaret, married to the dauphin; Isabella, to Francis, duke of Bretagne; Eleanor, to Sigismund, archduke of Austria; Mary, to the count de Boucquan; and Jean, to the earl of Angus, afterwards earl of Morton.

JAMES IV., king of Scots, was the eldest son of James III. by Margaret, daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark; and was born in the month of March, 1472. Of the manner of his education no record has been preserved; but it was probably good, as his father, whatever might be his faults, appears to have been a monarch of considerable taste and refinement. In the year 1488, a large party of nobles rebelled against James III. on account of various arbitrary proceedings with which they were displeased; and the king, on going to the north to raise an army for their suppression, left his son, the subject of the present memoir, in the keeping of Shaw of Sauchie, governor of Stirling castle. While the king was absent, the confederate nobles prevailed on Shaw to surrender his charge; and the prince was then set up as their nominal, but, it would appear, involuntary leader. The parties met, July 11, at Sauchie, near Stirling; and the king fell a victim to the resentment of his subjects. The subject of the present memoir then mounted the throne, in the sixteenth year of his age.

Neither the precise objects of this rebellion, nor the real nature of the prince's concern in its progress and event, are distinctly known. It is certain, however, that James IV. always considered himself as liable to the vengeance of heaven for his share, voluntary or involuntary, in his father's death; and accordingly wore a penitential chain round his body, to which he added new weight every year; and even contemplated a still more conspicuous expiation of his supposed offence, by undertaking a new crusade. Whatever might be the guilt of the prince, the nation had certainly no cause to regret the death of James III., except the manner in which it was accomplished, while they had every thing to hope from the generous young monarch who was his successor.

James possessed in an eminent degree every quality necessary to render a sovereign beloved by his subjects; and perhaps no prince ever enjoyed so large a portion of personal regard, of intense affection, as did James IV. of Scotland. His manner was gentle and affable to all who came in contact with him, whatever might be their rank or degree. He was just and impartial in his decrees, yet never inflicted punishment without strong and visible reluctance. He listened willingly and readily to admonition, and never discovered either impatience or resentment while his errors were placed before him. He took every thing in good part, and endeavoured to amend the faults pointed out by his advisers. He was generous, even to a fault; magnificent and princely in all his habits, pursuits, and amusements. His mind was acute, and dignified, and noble. He excelled in all warlike exercises and manly accomplishments; in music, horsemanship, and the use of sword and spear. Nor was his personal appearance at variance with this elevated character. His form, which was of the middle size, was exceedingly handsome, yet stout and muscular, and his countenance had an expression of mildness and dignity that instantly predisposed all who looked upon it to a strong attachment to its possessor.

His bravery, like his generosity, was also in the extreme: it was romantic. Altogether, he was unquestionably the most chivalrous prince of his day in Europe. A contemporary poet bears testimony to this part of his character:—

“ And ye Christian princes, whosoever ye be,  
 If ye be destitute of a noble captayne,  
 Take James of Scotland for his audacitie  
 And proved manhood, if ye will laude attayne;  
 Let him have the forwarde, have ye no disdayne,  
 Nor indignation; for never king was borne  
 That of ought of warr can shewe the unicorne.

For if that he take once his speare in hand,  
 Against these Turkes strongly with it to ride,  
 None shall be able his stroke for to withstande  
 Nor before his face so hardy to abide;  
 Yet this his manhood increaseth not his pride,  
 But ever sheweth be meknes and humilitie,  
 In word or dede, to hye and lowe degre. ”

A neglected education left him almost totally ignorant of letters, but not without a high relish for their beauties. He delighted in poetry, and possessed a mind attuned to all its finer sympathies.

The design of the rebel lords in taking arms against their sovereign, James III., being merely to free themselves from his weak and tyrannical government, without prejudice to his heirs, his son James IV. was, immediately after the death of his father, proclaimed king, and was formally invested with that dignity at Scone. However violent and unlawful were the proceedings which thus prematurely elevated James to the throne, the nation soon felt a benefit from the change which these proceedings effected, that could scarcely have been looked for from an administration originating in rebellion and regicide. The several parliaments which met after the accession of the young king, passed a number of wise and salutary laws, encouraging trade, putting down turbulence and faction, and enjoining the strict execution of justice throughout the kingdom.

The prince and his nobles placed the most implicit confidence in each other, and the people in both. This good understanding with the former, the king encouraged and promoted, by inviting them to frequent tournaments and other amusements, and warlike exercises, in accordance with his own chivalrous spirit, and adapted to their rude tastes and habits. These tournaments were exceedingly splendid, and were invested with all the romance of the brightest days of chivalry. Ladies, lords, and knights, in the most gorgeous attire crowded round the lists, or from draperied balconies, witnessed the combats that took place within them. James himself always presided on these occasions, and often exhibited his own prowess in the lists; and there were few who could successfully compete with him with spear, sword, or battle axe. Stranger knights from distant countries, attracted by the chivalric fame of the Scottish court, frequently attended and took part in these tournaments, but, it is said, did not in many instances prove themselves better men at their weapons than the Scottish knights. One of the rules of these encounters was, that the victor should be put in possession of his opponent's weapon; but when this was a spear, a purse of gold, a gift from the king, was attached to the point of it. These trophies were delivered to the conqueror by the monarch himself. The people were delighted with these magnificent and warlike exhibitions, and with their generous and chivalrous author. Nor were the actors themselves, the nobles, less gratified with them, or less affected by the high and princely spirit whence they emanated. They brought them into frequent and familiar contact with their sovereign, and nothing more was necessary in the case of James to attach them warmly and devotedly to his person. His kind and affable manner accomplished the rest.

By such means he was not only without a single enemy amongst the aristocracy, but all of them would have shed the last drop of their blood in his defence, and a day came when nearly all of them did so. In short, the wisest policy could not have done more in uniting the affections of prince and peers, than was accomplished by those warlike pastimes, aided as they were by the amiable manners of the monarch.

Not satisfied with discharging his duty to his subjects, from his high place on the throne, James frequently descended, and disguising his person—a practice to which his successor was also much addicted—roamed through the country unarmed and unattended, inquiring into his own reputation amongst the common people, and endeavouring to learn what faults himself or his government were charged with. On these occasions he lodged in the meanest hovels, and encouraged the inmates to speak their minds freely regarding their king; and there is little doubt, that, as his conduct certainly merited it, so he must have been frequently gratified by their replies. The young monarch, however, was charged with stepping aside occasionally in his rambles from this laudable though somewhat romantic pursuit, and paying visits to any of his fair acquaintances whose residence happened to be in his way; and it is alleged that he contrived they should very often be so situated.

Unfortunately for his courtiers, James conceived that he possessed, and not improbably actually did possess considerable skill in surgery and medicine, but there is reason to believe, that the royal surgeon's interference in cases of ailment was oftener dreaded than desired, although Lindsay says, that "their was none of that profession (the medical) if they had any dangerous cure in hand but would have craved his adwyse." Compliments, however, to a king's excellence in any art or science are always suspicious, and this of Lindsay's is not associated with any circumstances which should give it a claim to exemption from such a feeling.

One of the greatest faults of the young monarch was a rashness and impetuosity of temper. This frequently led him into ill-timed and ill-judged hostilities with the neighbouring kingdom, and, conjoined with a better quality, his generosity, induced him to second the pretensions of the impostor Perkin Warbeck to the crown of England. That adventurer arrived at James's court (1496), attended by a numerous train of followers, all attired in magnificent habits, and sought the assistance of the Scottish king to enable him to recover what he represented as his birth-right. Prepossessed by the elegant manner and noble bearing of the impostor, and readily believing the story of his misfortunes, which was supported by plausible evidence, the generous monarch at once received him to his arms, and not only entertained him for some time at his court, but, much against the will of his nobles, mustered an army, and, with Warbeck in his company, marched at the head of it into England, to reinstate his protégé in what he believed to be his right, at the point of the sword,—a project much more indicative of a warm and generous heart, than of a prudent head. The enterprise, as might have been expected, was unsuccessful. James had counted on a rising in England in behalf of the pretender, but being disappointed in this, he was compelled to abandon the attempt and to return to Holyrood. The king of England did not retaliate on James this invasion of his kingdom; but he demanded from him the person of the impostor. With this request, however, the Scottish king was much too magnanimous to comply; and he not only refused to accede to it, but furnished Warbeck with vessels and necessities to carry him to Ireland, whither he now proceeded. James is fully relieved from the charge of credulity which might appear to lie against him for so readily confiding in Warbeck's representations, by the extreme



plausibility which was attached to them, and by the strongly corroborative circumstances by which they were attended. He is also as entirely relieved from the imputation of conniving in the imposture—an accusation which has been insinuated against him—by the circumstance of his having given a near relation of his own, Catharine Gordon, a daughter of lord Huntly's, in marriage to the impostor, which it cannot for a moment be believed he would have done had he known the real character of Warbeck.

The species of roving life which the young monarch led, was now about to be circumscribed, if not wholly terminated, by his entering into the married state. This he avoided as long as he possibly could, and contrived to escape from it till he had attained the thirtieth year of his age. Henry of England, however, who had always been more desirous of James's friendship than his hostility, and had long entertained views of securing the former by a matrimonial connexion with his family, at length succeeded in procuring James's consent to marry his daughter Margaret, an event which took place in 1503.

Whatever reluctance the monarch might have had to resign his liberty, he was not wanting in gallantry to his fair partner when she came to claim it. He first waited upon her at Newbattle, where he entertained her with his own performance on the clarrichords and lute, listened to specimens of her own skill in the same art on bended knee, and altogether conducted himself like a true and faithful knight. He also exhibited a care and elegance in his dress on this occasion, sufficiently indicative of his desire to please. He was arrayed in a black velvet jacket, bordered with crimson velvet, and furred with white; and when he afterwards conducted his bride from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, which he did, strange to tell, seated on horseback behind him, he appeared in a jacket of cloth of gold, bordered with purple velvet, furred with black, a doublet of violet satin, scarlet hose, the collar of his shirt studded with precious stones and pearls, with long gilt spurs projecting from the heels of his boots.

By the terms of the marriage contract, the young queen, who was only in her fourteenth year when she was wedded to James, was to be conducted to Scotland at the expense of her father, and to be delivered to her husband or to persons appointed by him, at Lamberton kirk. The latter was to receive with her a dowry of thirty thousand pieces of gold; ten thousand to be paid at Edinburgh eight days after the marriage, other ten thousand at Coldingham a year afterwards, and the last ten thousand at the expiry of the year following. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost splendour and pomp. Feastings, tourneyings, and exhibitions of shows and plays, succeeded each other in one continued and uninterrupted round for many days, James himself appearing in the lists at the tournaments in the character of the "Savage Knight." But there is no part of the details of the various entertainments got up on this occasion that intimates so forcibly the barbarity of the times, as the information that real encounters between a party of Highlanders and Borderers, in which the combatants killed and mangled each other with their weapons, were exhibited for the amusement of the spectators.

A more grateful and more lasting memorial of the happy event of James's marriage than any of these, is to be found in Dunbar's beautiful allegorical poem, the "Thistle and the Rose," composed on that occasion, and thus aptly and emblematically entitled from the union being one between a Scottish king and English princess. In this poem, Dunbar, who then resided at the court, hints at the monarch's character of being a somewhat too general admirer of the fair sex, by recommending him to reserve all his affections for his queen.

"Nor hauld no other flower in sic denty  
As the fresche rose, of cullor reid and white;

For gif thou dois, hurt is thine honesty,  
 Considering that no flower is so perfyt."

It is said to have been at the rude but magnificent court of this monarch, that the character of a Scottish courtier first appeared; this class, so numerous at all the other courts of Europe, having been hitherto unknown in Scotland. These raw courtiers, however, made rapid progress in all the acquirements necessary to their profession, and began to cultivate all their winning ways, and to pay all that attention to their exterior appearance, on which so much of the hopes of the courtier rests. A finely and largely ruffled shirt, the especial boast and delight of the ancient Scottish courtier, a flat little bonnet, russet hose, perfumed gloves, embroidered slippers that glittered in the sun or with candle light, a handkerchief also perfumed and adorned with a golden tassel at each corner, with garters knotted into a huge rose at the knee—were amongst the most remarkable parts of the dress of the hangers-on at the court of James IV. In one important particular, however, these gentlemen seemed to have wonderfully resembled the courtier of the present day. "Na Kindness at Court without Sil-ler," is the title of a poem by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, who had every opportunity of knowing personally what was the character of that of his native sovereign.

One of the stipulations of the marriage treaty between the king and the daughter of Henry the VII., having secured an inviolable peace between the two monarchs and their subjects, the nation enjoyed for several years after that event the most profound tranquillity. This leisure James employed in improving the civil polity of his kingdom; in making efforts to introduce civilization, and an obedience to the laws, into the Highlands and Isles, by establishing courts of justice at Inverness, Dingwall, and various other places throughout these remote districts; in enlarging and improving his navy, and, in short, in doing every thing that a wise prince could do to promote the prosperity of his kingdom. In all these judicious proceedings, James was cordially supported by his parliament, a department of the legislature in which he was perhaps more fortunate than any of his predecessors had ever been, and certainly more than were any of his immediate successors. The acts of the parliament of James are distinguished by the most consummate wisdom, and by a constant aiming at the improvement and prosperity of the kingdom, whether by suppressing violence, establishing rules for the dispensation of justice, or in encouraging commerce; and they are no less remarkable for a spirit of cordiality towards the sovereign, amounting to a direct and personal affection, which breathes throughout the whole. How much of this good feeling, and of this happy co-operation in good works, depended upon the king, and how much upon the parliaments themselves, it would not be easy to determine, but it is certain, that much of the merit which attaches to it must be awarded to the sovereign.

This peaceful and prosperous state of the kingdom, however, after enduring for upwards of nine years, at length drew to a close, and finally terminated in one of the most disastrous events recorded in the pages of her history. Henry VII. died, and was succeeded by Henry VIII. Besides the change which this occurrence effected in the relationship between the sovereigns of England and Scotland, the feelings and policy of the new monarch towards the latter kingdom were totally dissimilar to those of his predecessor. He seems, indeed, to have brought with him to the throne a feeling of hostility towards Scotland; and this feeling, the sensitive, warm tempered, and impetuous monarch, against whom it was entertained, was not long in discovering. The consequence was, that, after some slight mutual offences, which, under any other circumstances, might have been easily atoned for, war was proclaimed between the two king-

doms, and both made the most formidable preparations for deciding their differences on the field of battle. James summoned the whole array of his kingdom, including all the western isles and the most remote parts of the Highlands, to assemble on the Burrow muir within twenty days, each, as was usual on such occasions, to come provided with forty days' provisions. Though the impending war was deprecated by James's council, and was by all considered imprudent, yet such was his popularity, such the general affection for the high-spirited and generous monarch, that no less than one hundred thousand men appeared in arms at the place of muster; disapproving, indeed, of the object for which they were brought together, but determined to shed the last drop of their blood in their sovereign's quarrel—because it was his, and because he had determined on bringing it to the issue of the sword. Deeply imbued with the superstition of the period, James spent much of his time, immediately before setting out with his army, in the performance of religious rites and observances. On one of these occasions, and within a few days of his marching on his expedition, a circumstance occurred which the credulity of the times has represented as supernatural, but in which it is not difficult to detect a design to work on the superstitious fears of the king, to deter him from proceeding on his intended enterprise. While at his devotions in the church of Linlithgow, a figure, clothed in a blue gown secured by a linen girdle and wearing sandals, suddenly appeared in the church, and calling loudly for the king, passed through the crowd of nobles, by whom he was surrounded, and finally approached the desk at which his majesty was seated at his devotions. Without making any sign of reverence or respect for the royal presence, the mysterious visitor now stood full before the king, and delivered a commission as if from the other world. He told him that his expedition would terminate disastrously, advised him not to proceed with it, and cautioned him against the indulgence of illicit amours. The king was about to reply, but the spectre had disappeared, and no one could tell how. The figure is represented as having been that of an elderly grave-looking man, with a bald uncovered head, and straggling grey locks resting on his shoulders. There is little doubt that it was a stratagem of the queen's, and that the lords who surrounded the king's person were in the plot. Some other attempts of a similar kind were made to alarm the monarch, and to deter him from his purpose, but in vain. Neither superstition nor the ties of natural affection could dissuade him from taking the field. Resisting all persuasion, and even the tears and entreaties of his queen, who, amongst the other arguments which her grief for the probable fate of her husband suggested, urged that of the helpless state of their infant son; the gallant but infatuated monarch took his place at the head of his army, put the vast array in marching order, and proceeded on that expedition from which he was never to return. The Scottish army having passed the Tweed began hostilities by taking some petty forts and castles, and amongst the latter that of Ford; here the monarch found a Mrs Heron, a lady of remarkable beauty, and whose husband was at that time a prisoner in Scotland. Captivated by this lady's attractions—while his natural son, the archbishop of St Andrews, who accompanied him, acknowledged those of her daughter—James spent in her society that time which he should have employed in active service with his army. The consequence of this inconceivable folly was, that his soldiers, left unemployed, and disheartened by a tedious delay, gradually withdrew from his camp and returned to their homes, until his army was at length reduced to little more than thirty thousand men. A sense of honour, however, still detained in his ranks all the noblemen and gentlemen who had first joined them, and thus a disproportionate number of the aristocracy remained to fall in the fatal field which was soon afterwards fought. In the mean time the earl of Surrey, lieutenant-

general of the northern counties of England, advanced towards the position occupied by James's forces, with an army of thirty-one thousand men.

On the 7th of September, 1513, the latter encamped at Woolerhaugh, within five miles of Flodden hill, the ground on which the Scottish army was encamped. On the day following they advanced to Bannore wood, distant about two miles from the Scottish position, and on the 9th presented themselves in battle array at the foot of Flodden hill. The Scottish nobles endeavoured to prevail upon the king not to expose his person in the impending encounter, but he rejected the proposal with disdain, saying, that to outlive so many of his brave countrymen would be more terrible to him than death itself. Finding they could not dissuade him from his purpose of sharing in the dangers of the approaching fight, they had recourse to an expedient to lessen the chances of a fatal result. Selecting several persons who bore a resemblance to him in figure and stature, they clothed them in a dress exactly similar to that worn by the monarch, and dispersed them throughout the ranks of the army. The English army, when it presented itself to the Scots, was drawn up in three large divisions; Surrey commanding that in the centre, Sir Edward Stanley and Sir Edmund Howard those on the right and left, while a large body of cavalry, commanded by Dacre, was posted in the rear. The array of the Scots was made to correspond to this disposition, the king himself leading on in person the division opposed to that commanded by Surrey, while the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Crawford, Montrose, Huntly, and Home, jointly commanded those on his right and left. A body of cavalry, corresponding to that of Dacre's, under Bothwell, was posted immediately behind the king's division. Having completed their dispositions, the Scots, with their long spears levelled for the coming strife, descended from the hill, and were soon closed with the enemy. The divisions commanded by Huntly and Home, on the side of the Scots, and by Howard on the side of the English, first met, but in a few minutes more all the opposing divisions came in contact with each other, and the battle became general.

The gallant but imprudent monarch himself, with his sword in his hand, and surrounded by a band of his no less gallant nobles, was seen fighting desperately in the front of his men, and in the very midst of a host of English bill-men. After various turns of fortune, the day finally terminated in favour of the English, though not so decisively as to assure them of their success, for it was not till the following day, that Surrey, by finding the field abandoned by the Scots, ascertained that he had gained the battle. In this sanguinary conflict, which lasted for three hours, having commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon and continued till seven, there perished twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of peers, about fifty gentlemen of rank and family, several dignitaries of the church, and about ten thousand common men. Amongst the churchmen who fell, were the king's natural son, the archbishop of St Andrews, Hepburn, bishop of the Isles, and the abbots of Kilwinning and Inchafray. James himself fell amidst a heap of his slaughtered nobles, mortally wounded in the head by an English bill, and pierced in the body with an arrow. It was long believed by the common people that the unfortunate monarch had escaped from the field, and that he had gone on a pilgrimage to Palestine, where tradition represented him to have ended his days in prayer and penitence for his sins, and especially for that of his having borne arms against his father. This belief was strengthened by a rumour that he had been seen between Kelso and Dunse after the battle was fought. That he actually fell at Flodden, however, has been long since put beyond all doubt, and the fate of his body is singular. It appears to have been carried to London, and to have been embalmed there, but by whom or by whose orders is unknown. In the reign of Elizabeth, some

sixty or seventy years afterwards, the shell in which the body was deposited, and still containing it, was found in a garret amongst a quantity of lumber by a slater while repairing the roof of a house. The body was still perfectly entire, and emitted a pleasant fragrance from the strong aromas which had been employed in its preservation. Looking on it as a great curiosity, though unaware whose remains it was, the slater chopped off the head, carried it home with him, and kept it for several years. Such was the fate of the mortal part of the noble-minded, the high-souled monarch, James IV. of Scotland. He was in the forty-first year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his reign, when he fell on Flodden field.

At this distance of time, every thing relating to that celebrated, but calamitous contest—the most calamitous recorded in the pages of Scottish history—possesses a deep and peculiar interest; but of all the memorials which have reached us of that fatal event, there is not one perhaps so striking and impressive as the proclamation of the authorities of Edinburgh. The provost and magistrates were in the ranks of the king's army, and had left the management of the town's affairs in the hands of deputies. On the day after the battle was fought, a rumour had reached the city that the Scottish army had met with a disaster, and the following proclamation—the one alluded to—was in consequence issued. The hopes, fears, and doubts which it expresses, now that all such feelings regarding the event to which it refers have long since passed away, cannot be contemplated without a feeling of deep and melancholy interest. “The 10th day of September the year above written, (1513) we do zow to witt. Forasmeikle as thair is ane grait rumour now laitlie rysin within this toun, touching oure soverane lord and his army, of the quhilk we understand thair is cum in na veritie as yet. Quhairfore we charge straitely, and commandis in oure said soverane lord the kingis name, and the presidentis for the provost and baillies within this burgh, that all manner of personis, nychtbours within the samyn, have riddye thair fensabill geir and wappenis for weir, and compeir thairwith to the said presidents at jowing of the commoun bell, for the keeping and defense of the toun aganis thame that wald invaid the samin. And als chairgis that all wemen, and especially vagaboundis, that thai pass to thair labouris and be nocht sene upoun the gait clamorand and cryand, under the pane of banising of thair personis, but favouris, and that the uther women of gude repute pass to the kirk and pray quhane tyme requiris for our soverane lord, and his army and nychtbours being thairat, and hald thame at thair previe labouris of the gait within thair housis as efferis.”

James left behind him only one legitimate child, James V. His natural issue were, Alexander, born eight months after his father's death, and who died in the second year of his age; Alexander, archbishop of St Andrews; Catharine, wedded to the earl of Morton; James, earl of Murray; Margaret, wedded to the heir of Huntly; and Jeann, married to Malcolm, lord Fleming.

JAMES V. of Scotland, son of James IV., and of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., king of England, was born at Linlithgow in the month of April, 1512. This prince, on the death of his father, was not more than a year and a half old. The nation had, therefore, to look forward to a long minority, and to dread all the evils which in these turbulent times were certain to attend a protracted regency.

Scarcely any event could have been more disastrous to Scotland, than the premature death of James IV. The loss of the battle of Flodden, the immense number of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen who fell in that fatal field, were calamities of no ordinary magnitude; but the death of James himself was more fatal to the peace and prosperity of the kingdom than all. By the latter event,

Scotland was thrown open to foreign influence and intrigue, and left to the ferocious feuds of its own turbulent and warlike chieftains, who did not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity which the death of the monarch afforded them, of bringing their various private quarrels to the decision of the sword. It might have been expected, that the overwhelming disaster of Flodden field, which brought grief and mourning into almost every house of note in the land by the loss of some member of its family, would have extinguished, for a time at least, all personal animosities between them, and that a common sympathy would have prevented the few that were left from drawing their swords upon each other ; but it had no such effect. Sanguinary contests and atrocious murders daily occurred throughout the whole country. They invaded each other's territories with fire and sword, burned with indiscriminating vengeance the cottage as well as the castle ; despoiled the lands of corn and cattle ; and retired only when driven back by a superior force, or when there was nothing more left to destroy or carry away. For us, who live in so totally different and so much happier times, it is not easy to conceive the dreadful and extraordinary state of matters which prevailed in Scotland during such periods as that of the minority of James V., when there was no ruler in the land to curb the turbulence and ambition of its nobles. In their migrations from one place to another, these proud chieftains were constantly attended by large bodies of armed followers, whom they kept in regular pay, besides supplying them with arms and armour. Thus troops of armed men, their retainers being generally on horseback, were constantly traversing the country in all directions, headed by some stern chieftain clad in complete armour, and bent on some lawless expedition of revenge or aggression ; but he came thus prepared as well to the feast as to the fray, for he did not know how soon the former might be converted into the latter. There existed always a mutual distrust of each other, which kept them in a constant dread of treachery, and no outward signs of friendship could throw them for a moment off their guard. Thus they were compelled to have frequent recourse to stratagem to destroy an enemy ; and numerous instances of the basest and most cowardly assassinations, accomplished by such means, occur in the pages of Scottish history. The number of armed retainers by which the chieftain was attended, was proportioned to his means. The Douglasses are said to have seldom gone abroad with fewer than fifteen hundred men at arms behind them ; and Robertson of Strowan, a chief of no great note, in the year 1504, was attended by a band of no less than eight hundred followers when he went to ravage the lands of Athol. The earl of Angus on one occasion entered Edinburgh with five hundred men in his train, all " weil accompanied and arrayed with jack and spear," for which they found sufficient employment before they left the city. Angus had come to Edinburgh with this formidable force to prevent the success of an attempt which the earl of Arran, then also in the town, was at that instant making to deprive the queen dowager of the regency. So soon as Arran got notice that Angus was in the city, he ordered the gates to be shut to secure him, but unaware, that he had also shut up with him five hundred well-armed followers. In the morning some of Angus's friends waited upon him, and informed him of the measures which Arran had taken for his apprehension, they also told him that if he did not instantly appear on the open street where he might defend himself, he would be taken prisoner.

Angus lost no time in buckling on his armour, and summoning his followers around him. He then formed in battle array, immediately above the Netherbow, and after a fruitless attempt on the part of Gavin Douglas, archbishop of St Andrews, to prevent bloodshed, the retainers of the two hostile noblemen encountered each other ; and after a sanguinary conflict of long continuance,

on the public street, in which great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides, Arran's party gave way, and he himself with difficulty escaped through the North Loch. This encounter was afterwards distinguished by the name of Cleanse the Causey, from its having been fought upon the street or causey. Such was the condition of Scotland during nearly the whole period of the minority of James; and by merely substituting one noble name for another, and shifting from time to time the scene of their endless squabbles and skirmishes, adding an interminable and scarcely intelligible story of intrigues, duplicity, and deception, we have the history of the kingdom for the fifteen years immediately succeeding the battle of Flodden field. During this period, we occasionally find the queen and her second husband, the earl of Angus, and sometimes the duke of Albany, cousin of the late king, in possession of the nominal regency. At length the young monarch comes upon the stage; and it is not until that event occurs, that the interest of the story is resumed. It then becomes a connected and intelligible tale, and is at once relieved of the cumbrous and fatiguing narration of occurrences, digressive, episodic, and parenthetical, with which it was previously disfigured and obscured.

In the mean time, the young monarch, unconscious of the storm that was raging without, was pursuing his studies in the castle of Edinburgh, where he had been placed for safety, under the tuition of Gavin Dunbar. The apartments appropriated to the youthful sovereign in this ancient fortress, seem to have been in but a very indifferent condition; his master, Dunbar, though afterwards refunded, having been obliged to repair, at his own cost, in the first instance, the chamber in which the king received his lessons, one particular room having been set apart for that purpose. Indeed, during the whole of Albany's regency, the wants of the young monarch seem to have been very little attended to: even his personal comfort was so much neglected, that it was with great difficulty he could procure a new doublet or a new pair of hose; and he at one time must have gone without even them, but for the kindness of his natural sister, the countess of Morton, who, from time to time, supplied him with articles of wearing apparel. The treasurer, too, frequently refused to pay the tailor for the making of his clothes, when the material instead of the dress happened to be sent him. Though placed in the castle for security, this consideration does not seem to have precluded the indulgence of going abroad occasionally. A mule was kept for him, on which he rode out during the intervals of his study, and when the town and surrounding country were reckoned sufficiently quiet and peaceful as to admit of his doing so with safety. The appearance, character, and temper of the young monarch during his nonage, are spoken of in warm terms by his contemporaries. In personal appearance he is said to have borne a strong resemblance to his uncle Henry VIII. of England; who, tyrant though he was, had certainly a very noble and kingly presence. James's countenance was oval, of a mild and sweet expression; his eyes blue, and beaming at once with gentleness and intelligence without effeminacy; a head of yellow hair completes the picture. He was of an exceedingly affectionate disposition, and of a generous though somewhat hasty temper. "There is not in the world," says the queen his mother, in a letter to Surrey, "a wiser child, or a better-hearted, or a more able." This is the language of a parent indeed; but, when corroborated as it is by other evidence, there is no occasion to suspect it of partiality. James was about this time in the eleventh or twelfth year of his age. With his other good qualities he discovered a shrewdness and sagacity superior to his years. Surrey, speaking of him to Wolsey, says, "he speaks *sure*, for so young a thing." The young monarch was much addicted to all manly sports and exercises, and in all excelled. He rode gracefully, was passionately fond of the

chase, and took much delight in hawks, hounds, and all the other appurtenances belonging to that amusement. He also sang and danced well, and even in his boyish years felt much of that "stern joy" which noble minds feel in possessing and handling implements of war. He was delighted with arms and armour; and could draw a sword a yard long before the hilt, when buckled to his side, as well as a full grown man. His own weapon was of this length when he was only twelve years of age. James was altogether at this period of his life a noble and princely boy. His amusements were all of a manly character. His mind was generous and elevated, his mein and carriage gallant and dignified. In short, imagination cannot conceive a more striking image of a youthful monarch in a rude and warlike age, than is presented to us in the person and character of James the V. of Scotland. There is some reason, however, to believe, that the royal colt was a little wild, and that he was fully as fond of tilting with the spear, or making the forest of Ettrick ring with his bugle notes, as of studying his humanities, for his Latinity was found to be sadly defective.

He seems to have kept Stirling castle, the place where he last resided before assuming the reins of government, in something like an uproar while he lived in it, with his sports and amusements. He was generally joined in these by his domestics; and as they were pretty numerous, we may readily conceive what a noise and turmoil they would create, led on in their wild and obstreperous frolics by their bold and lively young leader. Pelting each other with eggs is known to have been a favourite pastime, and it is one certainly, which must have given rise to many of the most ludicrous scenes. Although the estates of the kingdom had fixed the eighteenth year of his age as that which should terminate the minority of James, and put him in full and uncontrolled possession of the sovereignty of the kingdom, he was called upon to take his seat on the throne at a much earlier period of life.

The lords themselves, whose feuds and quarrels had filled the country with slaughter and rapine, saw no other way of terminating the frightful scene but by calling on the king, young as he was, to assume the royal dignity. The ambition of his mother, who hoped to possess herself of the real power and authority, also contributed to facilitate the event; and, accordingly, the boy king, for he was only twelve years of age, was brought, escorted by a numerous train of nobles, from Stirling castle to Holyrood house. On first learning the resolution which the lords had come to of investing him with the royal character, he expressed much delight, and seemed filled with the most joyful anticipations. "He was weill content," says Lindsay, "to leive correctioun at the scooles, and pas to his lordis at libertie."

Amongst the first things which the young monarch did on arriving at Holyrood, was to change all the officers of the royal household, from the treasurer down to the carvers. Three noblemen, the earl of Lennox, the lords Hamilton and Angus, and archbishop Beatoun, were appointed as his guardians and advisers. For a year after his arrival in Edinburgh and assumption of the royal dignity, the king and his guardians lived happily, and Lindsay says, merrily together; but at the end of that period, a "benefice vaiket," a temptation came in the way, and destroyed the harmony of the association; each claimed it from the king, and each thought he had a better right to it than his fellow. Angus said, that he was always scarce of hay and horse corn when he came to Edinburgh, and that therefore it should be given to him. The vacant benefice was attached to Holyrood house. Whether it was the force of this appeal, or the superior influence of Angus over the royal mind that decided the point, is left unexplained; but that nobleman carried off the prize, to the great disappointment and displeasure of the other three, who shortly after retired in disgust



from the court. Lennox, who had got nothing at all, returned, in despair of gaining any thing by the royal favour, to his own country; and Hamilton, though he had procured the abbacy of Paisley for his son, thinking that he had not got enough, followed his example. Beatoun, who lived then in a house of his own in the Friars Wynd, refrained afterwards from going near the court, but when expressly sent for.

Although James was now placed upon the throne, and surrounded with all the insignia of royalty, he neither of himself assumed nor was permitted to assume the functions of the royal state. He was much too young to be capable of holding the reins of government, and there were those around him who were not desirous that he should. Nor does it appear that the young monarch cared much about the matter, so long as he was permitted to enjoy himself; and there is no reason to believe that the defection of his grave guardians sank very deep into his mind. As the king advanced in years, however, this indifference to the power and authority of his elevated station gradually gave way to the natural ambition of enjoying them; and he at length determined to rid himself of the thralldom under which he was kept by the earl of Angus, who had for several years exercised the royal authority in his name. The house of Douglas, however, was too powerful, and their influence too extensive, to admit of his effecting his emancipation by any open effort, he therefore determined to have recourse to secret measures in the first instance.

The young king was now in the seventeenth year of his age, and when he carried his design into execution, was residing at Falkland, a favourite hunting place of the kings of Scotland. Here he was attended as usual by the earl of Angus and several of his kindred, all of whom were united in the design of keeping the king as it were to themselves. A Douglas was captain of his guard; a Douglas was treasurer; and a Douglas was guardian and adviser. Great numbers of that name, besides, filled subordinate situations in the royal household, and the king's guard, consisting of a hundred gentlemen, were all in the interest of the earl of Angus and his family. Thus encompassed, the young monarch had no other resource than to endeavour to elude their vigilance. He was under no personal restraint, nor was he debarred from any enjoyment or amusement with which he chose to occupy himself. On the contrary, they all led an exceedingly merry and joyous life together; were almost daily out hunting and hawking and feasting with the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, and amongst the rest with the archbishop of St Andrews, who entertained the king and his attendants with great "mirrines" for several days together; but it was necessary that a Douglas should always be present on these occasions. Hunting, hawking, or feasting, still a Douglas must be there. An opportunity such as the young monarch had long and anxiously looked for of escaping from this annoying surveillance at length presented itself, and he availed himself of it. The earl of Angus left Falkland for a few days, to transact some private business of his own in the Lothians, leaving the king in charge of his uncle, Archibald Douglas, and his brother George. These two, however, availing themselves probably of the earl's absence, also left the palace on different errands; the former, it is hinted, to visit a mistress in Dundee, and the latter to arrange some business with the archbishop of St Andrews. There was still, however, a fourth left, whom it was necessary the king should dispose of before he could effect his escape; this was James Douglas of Parkhead, the captain of the guard, to whom the absentees in the last resort had confided the safe keeping of the young monarch. In order to get rid of him, the king gave out that he intended to go a-hunting early on the following morning, and having sent for James Douglas to his bed-room, he called for liquor, and drinking to his guest, re-

marked that he should see good hunting on the morrow. Douglas, little dreaming of the equivocal, saw the king safely to bed, and retired to his own by the advice of his master, much earlier than usual, that he might be up by times in the morning, the king having ordered dejeuner to be served at four o'clock. It is not improbable that his majesty, moreover, had made him take an extra cup before they parted. As soon as all was quiet in the palace, the king got up, disguised himself by putting on the dress of one of his own grooms, and descended to the stables, where "Jockie Hart," a yeoman of the stable, with another trusty servant, also in the secret, were ready prepared with saddled horses for the intended flight.

They all three instantly mounted, and escaping all notice from the wardens, took the road for Stirling at full gallop. On reaching the castle, which he did by break of day, the king ordered the gates to be shut, and that no one should be permitted to enter without his special order. This done, he retired to bed, much fatigued with his long and rapid ride. His escape from Falkland was not discovered until the following morning. George Douglas had returned to the palace at eleven o'clock at night, about an hour after the king's departure, but having learned from the porters that his majesty was asleep in his own apartment, he, without further inquiry, retired to bed; and it was not until he was roused at an early hour of the morning, by Patrick Carmichael, baillie of Abernethy, who had recognized the king in his flight, and who came with all manner of despatch to inform him of it, that he knew any thing at all about the matter. He would not at first believe it, but rushed in great alarm to the king's chamber, which he found locked, and it was only when he had burst up the door and found the apartment unoccupied, that he felt assured of the dreadful truth. The king must have already acquired some little reputation for that gallantry amongst the ladies which afterwards so much distinguished him, for on this occasion he was at first suspected to have gone off on a nocturnal visit to a lady at Bambrigh, some miles distant from Falkland.

Immediately after his arrival in Stirling, the king summoned a great number of his lords to join him there, to assist him with their advice and counsel. The summons was readily obeyed, both from personal attachment to the king, and a jealousy and dislike of his late guardian the earl of Angus. In a few days, James was surrounded with nearly a score of the noblest names in the land, all ready to perish in his defence, and to assert and maintain his rights at the point of the sword.

He seems to have resented highly the restraint in which he had been kept by Angus and his kindred, for it was now, he said, addressing the assembled lords, "I avow that Scotland shall not hold us both till I be revenged on him and his." The earl of Angus and all his immediate friends were now put to the horn, and the former deprived of all his public offices. It is therefore at this period that the actual reign of James commences, and not before. He was now freed from the influence of the Douglasses, surrounded by his nobles, who paid him a ready and willing homage, and was in every respect an independent and absolute sovereign, capable and at liberty to judge and to act for himself.

James's appearance and character were as interesting as his situation at this period of his life. He was now, as stated before, in the seventeenth year of his age, of a robust constitution, which enabled him to encounter any bodily fatigue. His speech and demeanour were mild and conciliating. His stature was of middling height, but handsomely formed, and "the fient a pride, nae pride had he." He spoke at all times affably to the meanest of his subjects, and would partake of the humblest repast of the humblest peasant in his dominions, with a glee and satisfaction which evinced the most amiable kindness

of disposition. These qualities rendered him exceedingly beloved by the common people, of whom he was always besides so steady and effective a friend, as procured for him the enviable title of King of the Poor.

Amongst the first cares of James, after his becoming possessed of the actual sovereignty of the kingdom, was to subdue the border thieves and marauders, who were carrying matters with a high hand, and had so extended their business during the lawless period of his minority, and so systematized their proceedings, that Armstrong of Kilnockie—the celebrated Johnnie Armstrong of the well-known old ballad—one of the most noted leaders of these predatory bands, never traveled abroad, even on peaceful purposes, without a train of six and twenty gentlemen well mounted, well armed, and always handsomely dressed in the gayest and most chivalrous garb of the times. As James, however, knew that he would have little chance of laying hold of these desperadoes if he sought them with openly hostile intentions, their predatory habits and intimate knowledge of the localities of the country rendering it easy for them to evade any such attempt, he had recourse to stratagem. He gave out that he intended to have a great hunting match on the borders, and really did combine both sport and business in the expedition which followed. As was usual with the Scottish kings on hunting occasions, he summoned all the noblemen and gentlemen in the country, who could find it convenient, to attend him with their dogs on a certain day at Edinburgh, and, what was not so customary, to bring each a month's victuals along with him. Such a provision was always required when an army of common men were called together, but not in the case of convocations of men above that rank. The expedition in this case, however, was to be both warlike and sportive; and the former might prevent the latter from affording them a sufficiency of game for their subsistence. The summons of the king for the border hunting was so willingly obeyed, that a host amounting to twelve thousand assembled in Edinburgh against the appointed time; and amongst these, some chieftains from very distant parts of the country, such as Huntly, Argyle, and Athol, all of whom brought their large, fierce Highland deer dogs along with them to assist in the chase. It was in the month of June, 1529, that this prodigious host of sportsmen, headed by the king in person, set out towards the borders. The greater part of them were well armed, and were thus prepared for any thing that might occur. On all such occasions pavilions, tents, bedding, &c. for the accommodation of the sportsmen, were despatched some days previous to the ground selected for the first day's amusement, and were afterwards moved from place to place as the scene of action was shifted. The king's pavilion was very splendid, and might readily be distinguished from all others by its superior richness and elegance. His dogs, too, were elevated above all the dogs of meaner men, as well by their extrinsic ornaments as by their intrinsic merits. Their collars were gilt, or were of purple velvet adorned with golden studs, while the royal hawks were provided with collars and bells of the same metal. The cavalcade having reached Meggotland, on the southern border of Peeblesshire, a favourite hunting place of James's, and which was always reserved exclusively for the king's hunting—the sport began, and in a few days no less than three hundred and sixty deer were slain. Soon after this, Armstrong of Kilnockie, little dreaming of the fate that awaited him, made his appearance among the sportsmen, at a place called Caerlanrig, it is said by invitation, but whether it was so or not he seems to have calculated on at least a civil, if not a cordial reception from the king, being in total ignorance of the real object of the king's visit to the borders. Armstrong was not altogether unreasonable in such an expectation, for his robberies had always been confined to England, and he was rather looked upon as a protector than otherwise by his

own countrymen, none of whose property he was ever known to have meddled with. He always "quartered upon the enemy," and thought that by doing so he did good service to the state; but not being consulted in the various treaties of peace which occasionally took place between the sovereigns of the two kingdoms, he did not always feel himself called upon to recognize them, and accordingly continued to levy his black-mail from the borders, all the way, it is said, unto Newcastle. Though the king had made peace with England, Johnnie Armstrong had not; and he therefore continued to carry on the war in defiance of all those treaties and truces to which he was not a party. On this occasion the daring borderer, expecting a gracious reception from the king, and desirous of appearing before his sovereign in a manner becoming what he conceived to be his own rank, presented himself and his retainers, all magnificently appareled, before his majesty. The king, who did not know him personally, at first mistook him for some powerful nobleman, and returned his salute; but on learning his name, he instantly ordered him and all his followers to be taken into custody and hanged upon the spot. "What wants that knave that a king should have," exclaimed James, indignantly struck with the splendour of Armstrong's and his followers' equipments, and, at the same time, turning round from them on his heel as he spoke. The freebooter at first pled hard for his life, and endeavoured to bribe the king to spare him. He offered his own services and that of forty men at any time, when the king should require it, free of all expense to his majesty. He further offered to bring to him any subject of England—duke, earl, lord, or baron, against any given day, either dead or alive, whom his majesty might desire either to destroy or to have as a captive. Finding that all he could say and all he could offer had no effect in moving the king from his determination. The bold borderer, seeing the die was cast, and his fate sealed, instantly resumed the natural intrepidity of his character,—“I am but a fool,” he said, raising himself proudly up, “to look for grace in a graceless face. But had I known, sir, that you would have taken my life this day, I should have lived upon the borders in despite of both king Henry and you; and I know that the king of England would down-weight my best horse with gold to be assured that I was to die this day.” No further colloquy took place; Armstrong and all his followers were led off to instant execution. A popular tradition of the borders, where his death was much regretted, says, that the tree on which Armstrong was executed, though it continued to vegetate, never again put forth leaves. After subjecting several other notorious offenders to a similar fate, the king returned to Edinburgh on the 24th of July. In the following summer, he set out upon a similar expedition to the north, with that which he had conducted to the south, and for similar purposes—at once to enjoy the pleasures of the chase and to bring to justice the numerous and daring thieves and robbers with which the country was infested.

This practice of converting the amusement of hunting into a means of dispensing justice throughout the kingdom, was one to which James had often recourse, for on these occasions he took care always to be attended with an armed force, sufficiently strong to enforce the laws against the most powerful infringer; and he did not spare them when within his reach. For thieves and robbers he had no compassion; common doom awaited them all, whatever might be their rank or pretensions. In this particular he was stern and inflexible to the last degree; and the times required it. There was no part of his policy more beneficial to the kingdom than the resolute, incessant, and relentless war which he waged against all marauders and plunderers.

On the expedition which he now undertook to the north, he was accompanied by the queen mother, and the papal ambassador, then at the Scottish court. The

earl of Athol, to whose country the royal party proposed first proceeding, having received intelligence of the visit which he might expect, made the most splendid preparation for their reception. On the arrival of the illustrious visitors, they found a magnificent palace, constructed of boughs of trees, and fitted with glass windows, standing in the midst of a smooth level park or meadow. At each of the four corners of this curious structure, there was a regularly formed tower or block-house; and the whole was joisted and floored to the height of three stories. A large gate between two towers, with a formidable portcullis, all of green wood, defended the entrance; while the whole was surrounded with a ditch sixteen feet deep and thirty feet wide, filled with water, and stocked with various kinds of fish, and crossed in front of the palace by a commodious draw-bridge. The walls of all the apartments were hung with the most splendid tapestry, and the floors so thickly strewn with flowers, that no man would have known, says Lindsay, but he had been in "ane greine gardeine." The feasting which followed was in keeping with this elaborate and costly preparation. Every delicacy which the season and the country could supply was furnished in prodigious quantities to the royal retinue. The choicest wines, fruits, and confections, were also placed before them with unsparing liberality; and the vessels, linen, beds, &c., with which this fairy mansion was supplied for the occasion, were all of the finest and most costly description. The royal party remained here for three days, at an expense to their noble host of as many thousand pounds. Of all the party there was not one so surprised, and so much gratified with this unexpected display of magnificence and abundance of good living, as his reverence the pope's ambassador. The holy man was absolutely overwhelmed with astonishment and delight to find so many good things in the heart of a wild, uncivilized, and barbarous country. But his astonishment was greatly increased when, on the eve of their departure, he saw a party of Highlanders busily employed in setting fire to that structure, within which he had fared so well and been so comfortably lodged, and which had cost so much time, labour, and expense in its erection. "I marvel, sir," he said, addressing the king, "that ye should suffer yon fair palace to be burned, that your grace has been so well entertained in." "It is the custom of our Highlandmen," replied James, smiling, "that be they never so well lodged at night they will burn the house in the morning." The king and his retinue now proceeded to Dunkeld, where they remained all night. From thence they went next day to Perth, afterwards to Dundee and St Andrews, in all of which places they were sumptuously entertained—and finally returned to Edinburgh.

James, who had now passed his twentieth year, was in the very midst of that singular career of frolic and adventure in which he delighted to indulge, and which forms so conspicuous a feature in his character. Attended only by a single friend or two, and his person disguised by the garb of a gentleman of ordinary rank, and sometimes, if traditionary tales tell truth, by that of a person of a much lower grade, he rode through the country in search of adventures, or on visits to distant mistresses; often on these occasions passing whole days and nights on horseback, and putting up contentedly with the coarsest and scantiest fare which chance might throw in the way. Sleeping in barns on "clean pease strae," and partaking of the "gude wife's" sheep head, her oaten cakes, and ale, or whatever else she might have to offer, was no uncommon occurrence in the life of James. Such visits, however, were not always prompted by the most innocent motives. A fair maiden would at any time induce the monarch to ride a score of miles out of his way, and to pass half the night exposed to all its inclemency for an hour's interview.

James was no niggard in his gallantries: where money was required, he gave

it freely and liberally ; where it was not, his munificence took the shape of presents,—such as rings, chains, &c. of gold and other descriptions of jewellery. In one month he gave away in this way to the value of upwards of four hundred pounds. The roving monarch, however, made even his vagrancies subservient to his great object of extirpating thieves and robbers. During his wanderings he frequently fell in with numerous bands of them, or sought them out ; and on such occasions never hesitated to attack them, however formidable they might be, and however few his own followers.

As the roving propensities of the king thus frequently put his life in jeopardy, and as his dying without lawful issue would have left the country in all probability a prey to civil war, the nation became extremely anxious for his marriage, an event which, after many delays, arising from political objections to the various connexions from time to time proposed, at length took place. The Scottish ambassadors in France concluded, by James's authority, a marriage treaty with Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome. On the final settlement of this treaty, the young monarch proceeded to Vendome, to claim in person his affianced bride ; but here his usual gallantry failed him, for on seeing the lady he rejected her, and annulled the treaty.

Whether it was the result of chance, or that James had determined not to return home without a wife, this occurrence did not doom him, for any length of time, to a single life. From Vendome he proceeded to Paris, was graciously received by Francis I., and finally, after a month or two's residence at that monarch's court, married his daughter Magdalene. The ceremony, which took place in the church of Notre Dame, was celebrated with great pomp and splendour. The whole city rang with rejoicings, and the court with sounds of revelry and merriment. The marriage was succeeded by four months of continued feasting, sporting, and merry making. At the end of that period James and his young bride, who was of an exceedingly sweet and amiable disposition, returned to Scotland ; the former loaded with costly presents from his father-in-law, and the latter with a dowry of a hundred thousand crowns, besides an annual pension of thirty thousand livres during her life.

The royal pair arrived at Leith on Whitsun-eve, at ten o'clock at night. On first touching Scottish ground, the pious and kind-hearted young queen dropped on her knees, kissed the land of her adoption, and after thanking God for the safe arrival of her husband and herself, prayed for happiness to the country and the people. The rejoicings which the royal pair had left in France were now resumed in Scotland. Magdalene was every where received by the people with the strongest proofs of welcome and regard, and this as much from her own gentle and affable demeanour as from her being the consort of their sovereign.

Never queen made such rapid progress in the affections of a nation, and few ever acquired during any period so large a proportion of personal attachment as did this amiable lady. The object, however, of all this love, was not destined long to enjoy it. She was in a bad state of health at the time of her marriage, and all the happiness which that event brought along with it could not retard the progress of the disease which was consuming her. She daily became worse after her arrival in Scotland, and finally expired within forty days of her landing. James was for a long time inconsolable for her loss, and for a time buried himself in retirement, to indulge in the sorrow which he could not restrain.

Policy required, however, that the place of the departed queen should, as soon as propriety would admit, be supplied by another ; and James fixed upon Mary of Guise, daughter of the duke of that name, and widow of the duke of Longueville, to be the successor of Magdalene. An embassy having been dispatched to France to settle preliminaries, and to bring the queen consort to

Scotland; she arrived in the latter kingdom in June, 1538. Mary landed at Balcomie in Fife, where she was received by the king, surrounded by a great number of his nobles. From thence the royal party proceeded to Dundee, St Andrews, then to Stirling; from that to Linlithgow; and lastly to Edinburgh. In all of these places the royal pair were received with every demonstration of popular joy, and were sumptuously entertained by the magistrates and other authorities of the different towns. James, by a long and steady perseverance in the administration of justice, without regard to the wealth or rank of the culprits, and by the wholesome restraint under which he held the turbulent nobles, had now secured a degree of peace and prosperity to the country which it had not enjoyed for many years before. His power was acknowledged and felt in the most remote parts of the Lowlands of Scotland, and even a great part of the Highlands. But the western isles, and the most northern extremity of the kingdom, places then difficult of access, and comparatively but little known, were still made the scenes of the most lawless and atrocious deeds by the fierce and restless chieftains, and their clans, by whom they were inhabited. James, however, resolved to carry and establish his authority even there. He resolved to "beard the lion in his den;" to bring these desperadoes to justice in the midst of their barbarous hordes; and this bold design he determined to execute in person. He ordered twelve ships, well provided with artillery to be ready against the fourteenth day of May. The personal preparations of the king, and those made for his accommodation in the ship in which he was himself to embark on this expedition, were extensive and multifarious. His cabin was hung with green cloth, and his bed with black damask. Large quantities of silver plate, and culinary utensils, with stores for cooking, were put on board; and also a vast number of tents and pavilions, for the accommodation of his suite, when they should land in the isles. The monarch himself was equipped in a suit of red velvet, ornamented with gold embroidery, and the ship in which he sailed was adorned with splendid flags, and numerous streamers of red and yellow serge.

The expedition, which had been delayed for fourteen days beyond the time appointed, by the advanced state of the queen's pregnancy, finally set sail for its various destinations in the beginning of June.

The royal squadron, on reaching the western shores, proceeded deliberately from island to island, and from point to point of the mainland, the king landing on each, and summoning the various chieftains to his presence. Some of these he executed on the spot, others he carried away with him as hostages for the future peaceful conduct of their kinsmen and followers; and thus, after making the terror of his name and the sternness of his justice felt in every glen in the Highlands, he bent his way again homewards. James himself landed at Dumbarton, but the greater part of his ships, including those on board of which were the captured chieftains, were sent round to Leith.

Having now reduced the whole country to such a state of tranquillity, and so effectually accomplished the security of private property every where, that it is boasted, that, at this period of his reign, flocks of sheep were as safe in Ettrick forest as in the province of Fife, he betook himself to the improvement of his kingdom by peaceful pursuits. He imported superior breeds of horses to improve the native race of that animal. He promoted the fisheries, and invited artisans and mechanics of all descriptions to settle in the country, encouraging them by the offer of liberal wages, and, in many cases, by bestowing small annual pensions. With every promise of a long and happy reign, and in the midst of exertions which entitled him to expect the latter, the cup was suddenly dashed from his lips. Misfortune on misfortune crowded on the ill-starred

monarch, and hurried him to a premature grave. Two princes who were born to him by Mary of Guise, died in their infancy within a few days of each other, a calamity which sank deep in the heart of their royal parent. His uncle, the king of England, with whom he had hitherto been on a friendly footing, for reasons now not very well known, invaded his dominions with an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of the duke of Norfolk. James gave orders to assemble an army of thirty thousand men on the Burrow muir, and with this force he marched to oppose them. The hostile armies met at Solway moss, but with little disposition on the part of the leaders of the Scottish army to maintain the credit of their sovereign by their arms. James had never been friendly to the aristocracy, and they now retaliated upon him by a lukewarmness in his cause in the hour of need. The unfortunate monarch himself increased this spirit of defection at this critical juncture by appointing Oliver Sinclair, a mean favourite, and a man of no ability, to the command of his army. The intelligence of this appointment excited the utmost indignation in the Scottish army. All declared that they would rather submit to be taken prisoners by the English than be commanded by such a general; and the whole army was thrown into such a state of commotion by this infatuated proceeding of their sovereign, that the English general perceived the disorder, and taking advantage of it, attacked the Scottish army with a few hundred light horse. The former making no resistance were instantly put to flight. James was at Carlaverock, about twelve miles distant, when this disaster took place. When informed of the disgraceful flight of his army, he sank into a state of dejection and melancholy from which nothing could rouse him. His proud spirit could not brook the disgrace which had befallen his arms, and the conduct of his nobles excited a degree of irritation which soon threw him into a violent fever. In this state of despondency he retired to Falkland. Here he took to bed and refused all sustenance. While in this condition intelligence was brought him that the queen, then at Linlithgow, was delivered of a girl. "It came with a lass and it will go with a lass," said the dying monarch, reckoning it another misfortune, that it was not a male heir that had been given to him.

A little before his death, which was now fast approaching, he was heard muttering the words "Solway moss," the scene of that disaster which was now hurrying him to the grave. On the day of his death, which happened previous to the 13th of December, 1542, but within two or three days of it, although the precise day is not known, he turned round to the lords who surrounded his bed, and with a faint but benignant smile, held out his hand to them to kiss, and in a few minutes thereafter expired. James died in the 31st year of his age, leaving the unfortunate Mary, then an infant, to succeed to his dignities and to more than his misfortunes. Besides Mary, his only surviving legitimate child, James left six natural children. These were—James, abbot of Kelso and Melrose; the regent Murray; Robert, prior of Holyroodhouse; John, prior of Coldingham; Janet, wife of the earl of Angus; and Adam, prior of the Chartreux at Perth.

JAMES VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, was born in the castle of Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. He was the son of the reigning sovereign Mary, by her husband, Henry, lord Darnley, who was nominally associated with her in the government, and was the eldest son of the existing earl of Lennox. Both by his father and mother, James was the great-grandson of Henry VII. of England, and, failing queen Elizabeth and his own mother, stood nearest to the throne of that kingdom, at the same time that he was heir-apparent to the Scottish crown. The character of his parents and their previous history are so well known, that it is unnecessary to touch upon them here. It may only be mentioned, that



while the royal infant brought with him into the world pretensions the most brilliant that could have befallen a mortal creature, he also carried in his constitution a weakness of the most lamentable nature, affecting both his body and his mind. About three months before his birth, his father headed a band of conspirators, who broke violently into the privacy of his mother's chamber, and in her presence slew her favourite counsellor, David Riccio. The agitation of the mother on that occasion, took effect upon the child, who, though intended apparently to be alike strong in mental and bodily constitution, showed through life many deficiencies in both respects, though, perhaps, to a less extent than has been represented by popular history.

It is well known that a confederation of the Scottish nobles dethroned Mary about a year after the birth of her son. While this ill-fated princess was condemned to imprisonment in Lochleven castle, her son was taken to Stirling, and there crowned at the age of thirteen months and ten days. The real government was successively administered by the regents Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton, under the secret direction of the English queen, by whom, in time, her rival Mary was put to death. James, after a weakly infancy, was placed under the care of the celebrated Buchanan, whose religious principles and distinguished scholarship seemed to qualify him peculiarly for the task of educating a protestant prince. It would appear that the young king received at the hands of his master a great deal more learning, classical and theological, than he was able to digest, and thus became liable to as much of the fault of pedantry, as consists in a hoarding of literature for its own sake, or for purposes of ostentation, accompanied by an inability to turn it to its only true use in the ordinary purposes of life. A pliability of temper, subject alike to evil and to good influences; a sly acuteness in penetrating the motives of men, without the power to make it of any practical advantage; and a proneness to listen to the flattering counsellors who told him he was a king, and ought to have the power of one, were other characteristics of this juvenile monarch; whose situation, it must at the same time be acknowledged, was one of such difficulty, as to render a fair development of the best faculties of the mind, and the best tendencies of the heart, hardly to be expected.

Though made and upheld as a king, in consequence of a successful rebellion against the monarchical principle, James was early inspired with a high sense of his royal powers and privileges, probably by some of those individuals who are never wanting around the persons of young princes, let their education be ever so carefully conducted. Even before attaining the age of twelve, he had become the centre of a little knot of courtiers, who clustered about him at his residence in Stirling castle, and plotted schemes for transferring the reins of government into his own hands. Morton permitted himself to be surprised in 1578 by this party, who for some time conducted the affairs of state in the name of the king, as if he had been in full possession of his birth-right. Morton, however, soon after regained nearly all his wonted ascendancy, and it was not till two or three years later that the king became completely emancipated from this powerful agent of the English queen. A young scion of nobility, named captain Stuart, from his commanding the king's guards, and Esme, earl of Lennox, the king's cousin, were his chief instruments in obtaining the sovereign power, and in raising that prosecution against Morton, which ended in his execution, June 2, 1581. The former is represented as a profligate adventurer, who studied only how, by flattering the king and enforcing his despotic views, to promote his own interest. Lennox was a gentler and worthier person, but was obnoxious to popular odium, on account of his professing the catholic faith. The protestant and English interest soon rallied, and, in August, 1582, took

place the celebrated Raid of Ruthven, by which a few presbyterian nobles, headed by the earl of Gowrie, were enabled to take possession of the royal person, and use his authority for some time in behalf of liberal government and their own religious principles, while Stuart and Lennox were forbidden his presence.

It was not till June, 1583, that James emancipated himself from a control which, however well he appeared to bear it, was far from agreeable to him. Lennox had now been banished to France, where he died of a broken heart; Stuart was created earl of Arran on the ruins of the Hamilton family, and became almost sole counsellor to the young monarch. The nobles who had seized the king at Ruthven, were pardoned; but Gowrie, having soon after made a second and unsuccessful attempt, was beheaded at Stirling. During the interval between June, 1583, and November, 1585, the government was of a decidedly anti-popular and anti-presbyterian character,—Arran being permitted to act entirely as he pleased. The presbyterian nobles, however, who had fled into England, were, at the latter period, enabled by Elizabeth to invade their own country, with such a force as overturned the power of the unworthy favourite, and re-established a system agreeable to the clergy and people, and more closely respondent to the wishes of Elizabeth. In this way James grew up to man's estate.

In 1584, when eighteen years of age, he made his first appearance as an author, by publishing a small thin quarto, entitled "*Essayes of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie, with the Rowlis and Cauteles to be pursued and avoided.*" This work consists of a mixture of poetry and prose; the poems being chiefly a series of sonnets, which bear very much the appearance of school exercises; while the prose consists of a code of laws for the construction of verse according to the ideas of that age. There is little in the king's style or his ideas to please the present age; yet, compared with the efforts of contemporary authors, these poems may be said to bear a respectable appearance.

The main effect of the late revolution was to re-establish the English influence, which had been deranged by the ascendancy of captain Stuart. In June, 1586, James entered into an arrangement with Elizabeth, by which, in consideration of a pension of five thousand pounds, rendered necessary by his penurious circumstances, he engaged to support England against the machinations of the catholic powers of Europe. It was also part of this treaty, that a correspondence which he had entered into with his mother, should be broken off; and he even submitted so far to the desires of his new superior, as to write a disrespectful letter to that unhappy princess, who replied in an eloquent epistle, threatening to denounce him as a usurper, and load him with a parent's curse. James, in reality, during the whole of his occupancy of the Scottish throne, was a mere tool in the hands of one party or another; and had no personal influence or independence whatever till the advanced age of Elizabeth gave him near hopes of the English crown. Great care is therefore to be taken in judging of his actions, lest that be attributed to his own vicious will, which was only the dictate of a political system, of which he was the apparent head, but the real slave. In the winter of 1586-7, he had to endure the painful reflection, that his mother was threatened with, and ultimately brought to the scaffold, without his being able to make the least movement in her favour. It is but justice to him to say, that so far from his manifesting the levity on this subject attributed to him by several writers, he appears from documents of respectable authority,<sup>1</sup> to have manifested the highest indignation, and a degree of grief hardly to be expected from him,

<sup>1</sup> See the *Life of James I.*, forming two volumes of Constable's Miscellany, by the editor of the present work.

considering that he was not conscious of having ever seen his parent. Mary, in her last prayer in the hall of Fotheringay, while stretched before the block, entreated the favour of God towards her son; which shows that she had not ultimately found proper cause for putting her threat into execution.

In 1588, while the shores of England were threatened with the Spanish armada, James fulfilled, as far as he could, the treaty into which he had entered with Elizabeth, by using his best exertions to suppress the movements of a powerful catholic party among his own subjects, in support of the invasion. In return for this, Elizabeth permitted him to take a wife; and his choice ultimately fell upon the princess Anne of Denmark, second daughter of the deceased Frederick the second. He was married by proxy in August, 1589; but the princess having been delayed in Norway by a storm, which threatened to detain her for the winter, he gallantly crossed the seas to Upslo, in order to consummate the match. After spending some months at the Danish court, he returned to Scotland in May, 1590; when the reception vouchsafed to the royal pair was fully such as to justify an expression used by James in one of his letters, that "a king with a new married wyfe did not come hame every day."

The king had an illegitimate cousin, Francis, earl of Bothwell, who now for some years embittered his life by a series of plots and assaults for which there is no parallel even in Scottish history. Bothwell had been spared by the king's goodness in 1589, from the result of a sentence for treason, passed on account of his concern in a catholic conspiracy. Soon after James returned from Denmark, it was discovered that he had tampered with professing witches to take away the king's life by necromancy. He at first proposed to stand a trial for this alleged offence, but subsequently found it necessary to make his escape. His former sentence was then permitted to take effect, and he became, in the language of the times, a broken man. Repeatedly, however, did this bold adventurer approach the walls of Edinburgh, and even assail the king in his palace; nor could the limited powers of the sovereign either accomplish his seizure, or frighten him out of the kingdom. He even contrived at one time to regain his place in the king's council, and remained for several months in the enjoyment of all his former honours, till once more expelled by a party of his enemies. The king appears to have purposely been kept in a state of powerlessness by his subjects; even the strength necessary to execute the law upon the paltriest occasions was denied to him; and his clergy took every opportunity of decrying his government, and diminishing the respect of his people,—lest, in becoming stronger or more generally revered, he should have used his increased force against the liberal interest, and the presbyterian religion. If he could have been depended upon as a thorough adherent of these abstractions, there can be no doubt that his Scottish reign would have been less disgraced by the non-execution of the laws. But then, was his first position under the regents and the protestant nobles of a kind calculated to attach him sincerely to that party? or can it be decidedly affirmed that the zeal of the clergy of those rough and difficult times, was sufficiently tempered with human kindness, to make a young prince prefer their peculiar system to one which addressed him in a more courteous manner, and was more favourable to that regal power, the feebleness of which had hitherto seemed the cause of all his distresses and all his humiliation?

In 1585, while under the control of Arran, he had written a paraphrase and commentary on the Revelation of St John, which, however, was not completed or published for some years after. In 1591, he produced a second volume of verse, entitled "Poetical Exercises;" in the preface to which he informs the reader, as an apology for inaccuracies, that "scarcelie but at stolen moments had

he leisure to blenk upon any paper, and yet nocht that with free unvexed spirit." He also appears to have at this time proceeded some length with his translation of the Psalms into Scottish verse. It is curious that, while the king manifested, in his literary studies, both the pure sensibilities of the poet and the devout aspirations of the saint, his personal manners were coarse, his amusements of no refined character, and his speech rendered odious by common swearing.

It is hardly our duty to enter into a minute detail of the vacillations of the Scottish church, during this reign, between presbytery and episcopacy. In proportion as the king was weak, the former system prevailed; and in proportion as he gained strength from the prospect of the English succession, and other causes, the episcopal polity was re-imposed. We are also disposed to overlook the troubles of the catholic nobles—Huntly, Errol, and Angus, who, for some obscure plot in concert with Spain, were persecuted to as great an extent as the personal favour of the king, and his fear of displeasing the English papists, would permit. The leniency shown by the king to these grandees procured him the wrath of the church, and led to the celebrated tumult of the 17th of December, 1596, in which the clergy permitted themselves to make so unguarded an appearance, as to furnish their sovereign with the means of checking their power, without offending the people.

In February, 1594, a son, afterwards the celebrated prince Henry, was born to the king at Stirling castle; this was followed some years after by the birth of a daughter, Elizabeth, whose fate, as the queen of Bohemia, and ancestress of the present royal family of Britain, gives rise to so many varied reflections. James wrote a treatise of counsel for his son, under the title of "*Basili-con Doron*," which, though containing some passages offensive to the clergy, is a work of much good sense, and conveys, upon the whole, a respectable impression at once of the author's abilities, and of his moral temperament. It was published in 1599, and is said to have gained him a great accession of esteem among the English, for whose favour, of course, he was anxiously solicitous.

Few incidents of note occurred in the latter part of the king's Scottish reign. The principal was the famous conspiracy of the earl of Gowrie and his brother, sons of the earl beheaded in 1584, which was developed—if we may speak of it in such a manner—on the 5th of August, 1600. This affair has of late been considerably elucidated by Robert Pitcairn, Esq., in his laborious work, the "*Criminal Trials of Scotland*," though it is still left in some measure as a question open to dispute. The events, so far as ascertained, were as follows.

Early on the morning of the 5th of August, 1600, Alexander, Master of Ruthven, with only two followers, Andrew Henderson and Andrew Ruthven, rode from Perth to Falkland, where king James was at that time residing. He arrived there about seven o'clock, and stopping at a house in the vicinity of the palace, sent Henderson forward to learn the motions of the king. His messenger returned quickly with the intelligence, that his majesty was just departing for the chase. Ruthven proceeded immediately to the palace, where he met James in front of the stables. They spoke together for about a quarter of an hour. None of the attendants overheard the discourse, but it was evident from the king's laying his hand on the master's shoulder, and clapping his back, that the matter of it pleased him. The hunt rode on, and Ruthven joined the train; first, however, despatching Henderson to inform his brother that his majesty was coming to Perth with a few attendants, and to desire him to cause dinner to be prepared. A buck was slain about ten o'clock, when the king desired the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar to accompany him to Perth, to speak with the

earl of Gowrie. The master of Ruthven now despatched his other attendant to give the earl notice of the king's approach; and immediately afterwards James and he set off at a rate that threw behind the royal attendants, who lost some time in changing horses. When the duke of Lennox overtook them, the king, with great glee, told him that he was riding to Perth to get a *pose* (treasure). He then asked the duke's opinion of Alexander Ruthven, which proving favourable, he proceeded to repeat the story which that young man had told him, of his having the previous evening surprised a man with a large sum of money on his person. The duke expressed his opinion of the improbability of the tale, and some suspicion of Ruthven's purpose; upon which the king desired him to follow when he and Ruthven should leave the hall—an order which he repeated after his arrival in the earl of Gowrie's house.

Meantime, Henderson, on his arrival at Perth, found the elder Ruthven in his chamber, speaking upon business with two gentlemen. Gowrie drew him aside the moment he entered, and asked whether he brought any letter or message from his brother. On learning that the king was coming, he took the messenger into his cabinet, and inquired anxiously in what manner the master had been received, and what persons were in attendance upon his majesty. Returning to the chamber, he made an apology to the two gentlemen, and dismissed them. Henderson then went to his own house. When he returned, in about an hour, the earl desired him to arm himself, as he had to apprehend a Highlander in the Shoe-gate. The master of the household being unwell, the duty of carrying up the earl's dinner devolved upon Henderson. He performed this service about half past twelve; and afterwards waited upon the earl and some friends who were dining with him. They had just sat down when Andrew Ruthven entered, and whispered something in the earl's ear, who, however, seemed to give no heed. As the second course was about to be set upon the table, the master of Ruthven, who had left the king about a mile from Perth, and rode on before, entered and announced his majesty's approach. This was the first intelligence given the inhabitants of Gowrie house of the king's visit, for Gowrie had kept not only his coming, but also the master's visit to Falkland, a profound secret. The earl and his visitors, with their attendants, and some of the citizens among whom the news had spread, went out to meet the king.

The street in which Gowrie house formerly stood runs north and south, and parallel to the Tay. The house was on the side next the river, built so as to form three sides of a square, the fourth side, that which abutted on the street, being formed by a wall, through which the entry into the interior court, or close, was by a gate. The scene of the subsequent events was the south side of the square. The interior of this part of the edifice contained, in the first story, a dining-room, looking out upon the river, a hall in the centre, and a room at the further end looking out upon the street, each of them occupying the whole breadth of the building, and opening into each other. The second story consisted of a gallery occupying the space of the dining-room and hall below, and at the street end of this gallery, a chamber, in the north-west corner of which was a circular closet, formed by a turret which overhung the outer wall, in which were two long narrow windows, the one looking towards the spy-tower, (a strong tower built over one of the city-gates,) the other looking out upon the court, but visible from the street before the gate. The access to the hall and gallery was by a large turnpike stair in the south-east corner of the court. The hall likewise communicated with the garden, which lay between the house and the river, by a door opposite to that which opened from the turnpike, and an outward stair. The access to the chamber in which was the round closet, was either

through the gallery, or by means of a smaller turnpike (called the black turnpike) which stood half-way betwixt the principal one and the street.

The unexpected arrival of the king caused a considerable commotion in Gowrie's establishment. Craigingelt, the master of the household, was obliged to leave his sick bed, and bestir himself. Messengers were despatched through Perth to seek, not for meat, for of that there seems to have been plenty, but for some delicacy fit to be set upon the royal table. The baillies and other dignitaries of Perth, as also some noblemen who were resident in the town, came pouring in,—some to pay their respects to his majesty, others to stare at the courtiers. Amid all this confusion, somewhat more than an hour elapsed before the repast was ready. To judge by the king's narrative, and the eloquent orations of Mr Patrick Galloway, this neglect on the part of the earl seems to have been regarded as not the least criminal part of his conduct: and with justice; for his royal highness had been riding hard since seven o'clock, and it was past two before he could get a morsel, which, when it did come, bore evident marks of being hastily slubbered up.

As soon as the king was set down to dinner, the earl sent for Andrew Henderson, whom he conducted up to the gallery, where the master was waiting for them. After some short conversation, during which Gowrie told Henderson to do any thing his brother bade him, the younger Ruthven locked this attendant into the little round closet within the gallery chamber, and left him there. Henderson began now, according to his own account, to suspect that something wrong was in agitation, and set himself to pray, in great perturbation of mind. Meanwhile, the earl of Gowrie returned to take his place behind the chair of his royal guest. When the king had dined, and Lennox, Mar, and the other noblemen in waiting, had retired from the dining-room to the hall to dine in their turn, Alexander Ruthven came and whispered to the king, to find some means of getting rid of his brother the earl, from whom he had all along pretended great anxiety to keep the story of the found treasure a secret. The king filled a bumper, and, drinking it off, desired Gowrie to carry his pledge to the noblemen in the hall. While they were busy returning the health, the king and the master passed quietly through the hall, and ascended the great stair which led to the gallery. They did not, however, pass altogether unobserved, and some of the royal train made an attempt to follow them, but were repelled by Ruthven, who alleged the king's wish to be alone. From the gallery they passed into the chamber at the end of it, and the door of this room Ruthven appears to have locked behind him.

When the noblemen had dined, they inquired after their master, but were informed by Gowrie that he had retired, and wished to be private. The earl immediately called for the keys of the garden, whither he was followed by Lennox and part of the royal train; whilst Mar, with the rest, remained in the house. John Ramsay, a favourite page of the king, says in his deposition, that, on rising from table, he had agreed to take charge of a hawk for one of the servants, in order to allow the man to go to dinner. He seems, while thus engaged, to have missed Gowrie's explanation of the king's absence, for he sought his majesty in the dining-room, in the garden, and afterwards in the gallery. He had never before seen this gallery, which is said—we know not upon what authority—to have been richly adorned with paintings by the earl's father, and he staid some time admiring it. On coming down stairs, he found the whole of the king's attendants hurrying towards the outer gate, and was told by Thomas Cranstone, one of the earl's servants, that the king had rode on before. Ramsay, on hearing this, ran to the stable where his horse was. Lennox and Mar, who had also heard the report of the king's departure, asked the

porter, as they were passing the gate, whether the king were indeed forth. The man replied in the negative. Gowrie checked him with considerable harshness, and affirmed that the king had passed out by the back gate. "That is impossible, my lord," answered the porter, "for it is locked, and the key is in my pocket." Gowrie, somewhat confused, said he would return and learn the truth of the matter. He came back almost instantly, affirming positively that the king had ridden out by the back gate. The greater part of the company were now assembled on the High Street, in front of the house, waiting for their horses, and discussing how they were to seek the king. At this moment, the king's voice was heard, crying—"I am murdered! Treason! My lord of Mar, help! help!" Lennox and Mar, with their attendants, rushed through the gateway into the court, and up the principal stair. Sir Thomas Erskine and his brother James, seized the earl of Gowrie, exclaiming, "Traitor! this is thy deed!" Some of the earl's servants rescued their master, who was, however, thrown down in the scuffle, and refused admittance to the inner court. On recovering his feet, he retired a short way; then drawing his sword and dagger, he cried, "I will be in my own house, or die by the way."

During these proceedings, the king had found himself rather critically circumstanced. Alexander Ruthven, having locked the door of the gallery chamber, led the way to the round closet. James was not a little astonished when, instead of the captive he expected, he saw a man armed at all points except his head. He was more astonished when the master, putting on his hat, drew the man's dagger, and presented it to his breast, saying, "Sir, you must be my prisoner! remember my father's death!" James attempted to remonstrate, but was interrupted with "Hold your tongue, sir, or by Christ you shall die!" But here Henderson wrenched the dagger from Ruthven's hand, and the king, then resuming his remonstrances, was answered that his life was not what was sought. The master even took off his hat when the king, who, amid all his perturbation, forgot not his princely demeanour, reminded him of the impropriety of wearing it in his presence. He then requested James to give him his word not to open the window, nor call for assistance, whilst he went to bring his brother, the earl, who was to determine what farther should be done. Ruthven then left the closet, locking the door behind him; but, according to Henderson's belief, went no farther than the next room. This is more than probable; for, by the nearest calculation, Ramsay must have been at that time still in the gallery. The master re-entered, therefore, almost instantly, and telling the king there was now but one course left, produced a garter, with which he attempted to bind his majesty's hands. James freed his left with a violent exertion, exclaiming, "I am a free prince, man! I will not be bound!" Ruthven, without answering, seized him by the throat with one hand, while he thrust the other into his mouth, to prevent his crying. In the struggle which ensued, the king was driven against the window which overlooked the court, and, at that moment, Henderson thrust his arm over the master's shoulder and pushed up the window, which afforded the king an opportunity of calling for assistance. The master, thereupon, said to Henderson, "Is there no help in thee? Thou wilt cause us all to die:" and tremblingly, between excitement and exertion, he attempted to draw his sword. The king, perceiving his intent, laid hold of his hand; and thus clasped in a death-wrestle, they reeled out of the closet into the chamber. The king had got Ruthven's head under his arm; whilst Ruthven, finding himself held down almost upon his knees, was pressing upwards with his hand against the king's face, when, at this critical moment, John Ramsay, the page, who had heard from the street the king's cry for help, and who had got before Mar and Lennox, by running up the black turnpike formerly mentioned, while

they took the principal staircase, rushed against the door of the chamber and burst it open. The king panted out, when he saw his page, "Fy! strike him low! he has secret armour on." At which Ramsay, casting from him the hawk which still sat upon his hand, drew his dagger and stabbed the master. The next moment, the king, exerting all his strength, threw him from him down stairs. Ramsay ran to a window, and called upon Sir Thomas Erskine, and one or two who were with him, to come up the turnpike. Erskine was first, and as Ruthven staggered past him on the stair, wounded and bleeding, he desired those who followed to strike the traitor. This was done, and the young man fell, crying, "Alas! I had not the wyte of it."

The king was safe for the mean time, but there was still cause for alarm. Only four of his attendants had reached him; and he was uncertain whether the incessant attempts of Mar and Lennox's party to break open the door by which the chamber communicated with the gallery, were made by friend or foe. At this moment the alarm bell rang out, and the din of the gathering citizens, who were as likely, for any thing the king knew, to side with their provost, Gowrie, as with himself, was heard from the town. There was, besides, a still more immediate danger.

Gowrie, whom we left attempting to force his way into the house, was met at the gate by the news that his brother had fallen. Violet Ruthven, and other women belonging to the family, were already wailing his death, screaming their curses up to the king's party in the chamber, and mixing their shrill execrations with the fierce din which shook the city. The earl, seconded by Cranstone, one of his attendants, forced his way to the foot of the black turnpike, at which spot lay the master's body, "Whom have we here?" said the retainer, for the face was turned downwards. "Up the stair!" was Gowrie's brief and stern reply. Cranstone, going up before his master, found, on rushing into the chamber, the swords of Sir Thomas Erskine, and Herries, the king's physician, drawn against him. They were holding a parley in this threatening attitude, when Gowrie entered, and was instantly attacked by Ramsay. The earl fell after a smart contest. Ramsay immediately turned upon Cranstone, who had proved fully a match for the other two, and having wounded him severely, forced him finally to retreat.

All this time they who were with the duke of Lennox had kept battering at the gallery-door of the chamber with hammers, but in vain. The partition was constructed of boards, and as the whole wall gave way equally before the blows, the door could not be forced. The party with the king, on the other hand, were afraid to open, lest they should thus give admission to enemies. A servant was at last despatched round by the turnpike, who assured his majesty that it was the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar who were so clamorous for admission. The hammers were then handed through below the door, and the bolts speedily displaced. When these noblemen were admitted, they found the king unharmed, amid his brave deliverers. The door, however, which entered from the turnpike, had been closed upon a body of Gowrie's retainers, who were calling for their master, and striking through below the door with their pikes and halberds. The clamour from the town continued, and the voices from the court were divided,—part calling for the king, part for their provost, the earl of Gowrie. Affairs, however, soon took a more decided turn. They who assaulted the door grew tired of their ineffectual efforts, and withdrew; and almost at the same moment the voices of baillies Ray and Young were heard from the street, calling to know if the king were safe, and announcing that they were there, with the loyal burghesses of Perth, for his defence. The king gratified them by showing himself at the window, requesting them to still the tumult. At the



command of the magistrates the crowd became silent, and gradually dispersed. In the course of a few hours, peace was so completely re-established, that the king and his company were able to take horse for Falkland.

This bird's-eye view of the occurrences of the fifth of August, will be found correct in the main. Although some details have been necessarily omitted, they are sufficient to establish a preconcerted scheme between the brothers against the king, but of what nature, and to what purpose, it would be difficult, without further evidence, to say. Of all the people that day assembled in Gowrie's house, not one seems to have been in the secret. Henderson, to whom an important share in the execution of the attempt had been assigned, was kept in ignorance to the last moment, and then he counteracted, instead of furthering their views. Even with regard to Cranstone, the most busy propagator of the rumour of the king's departure, it is uncertain whether he may not have spread the report in consequence of the asseverations of his master; and we have his solemn declaration, at a time when he thought himself upon his death-bed, that he had no previous knowledge of the plot. The two Ruthvens of Freeland, Eviot, and Hugh Moncrieff, who took the most active share in endeavouring to stir the citizens up to mutiny to revenge the earl and his brother, may have been actuated, for any evidence we have to the contrary, solely by the feelings of reckless and devoted retainers, upon seeing their master's fall in an affray whose origin and cause they knew not. To this evidence, partly negative, and partly positive, may be added the deposition of William Rynd, who said, when examined at Falkland, that he had heard the earl declare,—“He was not a wise man, who, having intended the execution of a high and dangerous purpose, should communicate the same to any but himself; because, keeping it to himself, it could not be discovered nor disappointed.” Moreover, it does not sufficiently appear, from the deportment of the master, that they aimed at the king's life. He spoke only of making him prisoner, and grasped his sword only when the king had made his attendants aware of his situation. At the same time, it was nowhere discovered that any measures had been taken for removing the royal prisoner to a place of security; and to keep him in a place so open to observation as Gowrie-house, was out of the question. Without some other evidence, therefore, than that to which we have as yet been turning our attention, we can scarcely look upon these transactions otherwise than as a fantastic dream, which is incoherent in all its parts, and the absurdity of which is only apparent when we reflect how irreconcilable it is with the waking world around us.

The letters of Logan of Restalrig, which were not discovered till eight years afterwards, throw some further light upon the subject, though not so much as could be wished. Of their authenticity little doubt can be entertained, when we consider the number and respectability of the witnesses who swore positively to their being in Logan's handwriting. It appears from these letters that Gowrie and Logan had agreed in some plot against the king. It appears, also, that Logan was in correspondence with some third person who had assented to the enterprise. It would almost seem, from Logan's third letter, that this person resided at Falkland: “If I kan nocht win to Falkland the first nycht, I sall he tymelie in St Johnestoun on the morne.” And it is almost certain from the fifth letter, that he was so situated as to have oral communication with Gowrie, the master of Ruthven: “Pray let his lo. be quik, and bid M. A. remember on the sport he tald me.” It does not appear, however, that any definite plan had been resolved upon. The sea excursion, which Mr Lawson, in his History of the Gowrie Conspiracy, supposes to have been contemplated with the design of conveying James to Fast castle, was only meant to afford facilities for a meeting of the conspirators with a view to deliberation.

Logan's fifth letter is dated as late as the last of July, and yet it does not appear that the writer knew at that time of the Perth project. Taking these facts in conjunction with the hare-brained character of Gowrie's attempt, it seems highly probable, that although some scheme might be in agitation with Logan, and perhaps some other conspirators, the outrage of the fifth of August was the rash and premature undertaking of two hot-blooded fantastical young men, who probably wished to distinguish themselves above the rest of their associates in the plot.

The very scanty information that we possess respecting the character and previous habits of these two brothers, is quite in accordance with this view of the matter, and goes a good way to corroborate it. They are allowed, on all hands, to have been men of graceful exterior, of winning manners, well advanced in the studies of the times, brave, and masters of their weapons. It is not necessary surely to prove at this time of day, how compatible all these qualifications are with a rash and headlong temper, completely subject to the control of the imagination—a turn of mind bordering upon frenzy. A man of quick perception, warm feeling, and ungoverned fancy, is, of all others, the most fascinating, when the world goes smoothly; but he is of all others the most liable, having no guiding reason, to err most extravagantly in the serious business of life: being “unstable as water,” he is easily irritated and lashed into madness by adverse circumstances. How much Gowrie was the dupe of his imagination, is evident from the fondness with which he clung to the delusions of the cabala, natural magic, and astrology. Armed (according to his own belief) with powers beyond the common race of man, doomed by his stars to achieve greatness, he laughed at danger, and was ready to neglect the calculations of worldly prudence alike in his aims, and the means by which he sought their attainment. The true state of his brother's mind is portrayed, incidentally, by Logan, in his first letter:—“Bot incase ye and M. A. R. forgader, because he is somghat consety, for Godis sailk be very var with his rakelese tois of Padoa; for he tald me ane of the strangest taillis of ane nobill man of Padoa that ever I hard in my lyf, resembling the lyk purpose.” This suggests at once the very picture of a young and hot-blooded man, whose brain had been distracted, during his residence in Italy, with that country's numerous legends of wild vengeance. Two such characters, brooding conjointly over real or fancied wrongs, were capable of projecting schemes, against which the most daring would remonstrate; and irritated by the coldness of their friends, were, no doubt, induced to undertake the execution alone, and almost unassisted.

It only remains to inquire what was the object which Gowrie proposed to himself, in his mad and treasonable attempt, and upon whose seconding he was to depend, supposing his design had succeeded? These two inquiries are inseparably connected, and have been rendered more interesting, by a late attempt to implicate the presbyterian party in the earl's guilt. We are not a little astonished that such an attempt should have been made at this late period, when we recollect, that notwithstanding all the ill odour in which the presbyterian clergymen stood at court, not one of the thousand idle rumours to which Gowrie's enterprise gave birth, tried to direct suspicion towards them. The sole grounds upon which such an accusation can rest for support, are the facts,—that Gowrie's father was a leader among the presbyterians, and his son strictly educated in that faith; that shortly after his arrival in Italy, he wrote one letter to a presbyterian minister; and that some of the Edinburgh clergymen manifested considerable obstinacy in throwing discredit upon the reality of the conspiracy. The two former are of themselves so weak, that we pass them over, the more willingly, that we shall immediately point out the motives from which

Gowrie acted, and the sort of assistance upon which he really relied. The conduct of the clergymen admits of an easy explanation. James, whose perception was nearly as acute as his character was weak, was fully sensible of the ridicule to which he had exposed himself, by allowing his desire of money to lead him into so shallow a device as Ruthven's. In addition to this, he wished, upon all occasions, to appear as much of the hero as possible. The consequence was, that his edition of the story was so dressed up, as to render it inconsistent; first, with his well-known character; secondly, with the most distant possibility of his having been deceived with the master's pretences; and, thirdly, with the depositions of the witnesses. Inconsistencies so startling were sufficient to justify some preliminary scepticism; and if ever there was an occasion, where it was allowable openly to call a king's word in question, it was when James demanded, not merely that his party should hypocritically profess a belief which they did not entertain, but that they should, daringly and blasphemously, mix up this falsehood in the solemn services of devotion. A short time, however, was sufficient to convince the most incredulous of the truth of the conspiracy, stripped of the adventitious circumstances which the king linked with it; and the obstinate recusancy of Bruce the clergyman is sufficiently accounted for, by James's insisting upon prescribing the manner in which he was to treat the matter, and by that individual's overstrained notions of the guilt incurred by a minister, who allowed any one to dictate to him concerning the mode in which he was to conduct public worship.

But Gowrie relied upon the support of no faction, religious or political. His sole motive seems to have been a fantastic idea of the duty incumbent upon him to revenge his father's death. He is reported, on one occasion, when some one directed his attention to a person who had been employed as an agent against his father, to have said, "*Aquila non captat muscas.*" Ruthven also expressly declared to the king, when he held him prisoner in the closet, that his only object was to obtain revenge for the death of his father. The letters of Logan (except in one solitary instance, where a scheme of aggrandisement is darkly hinted at, and that as something quite irrelevant to the purpose they had on hand) harp on this string alone, proving that Gowrie and his friends seek only "for the revange of that cawse." The only members of the conspiracy who are known to us, are men likely enough to engage in such a cause, but most unlikely to be either leaders or followers in a union, where the parties were bound together by an attachment to certain political principles. The three conspirators are, the earl and his brother, such as we have already described them, and Logan of Restalrig, a broken man—a retainer and partisan of Bothwell—a maintainer of thieves and sorners—a man who expressly objects to communicating their project to one who he fears "vill dissuade us fra our purpose y<sup>e</sup> ressones of religion, *quhilk I can never abyde.*" And if any more evidence were required to show how little Gowrie relied upon the presbyterians, we might allude to his anxiety that Logan should sound his brother, lord Home—a catholic.

In short, every thing leads us to the opinion we have already announced, that the Ruthvens were instigated to their enterprise by feelings of private revenge alone, and that they did not seek to make any political party subservient to their purposes. It is to this isolated nature of their undertaking—its utter want of connexion with the political movements of the period—that we attribute the circumstance of its history having so long remained unknown, and are satisfied that much of that history must ever remain a riddle. It is with it, as with the adventures of the Iron Mask, and that whole class of events which seem political, merely because they befall persons who rank high in the state. They

generally appear more mysterious than they really are; because, if no chance unveils them at the time, they stand too far apart from all other transactions, to receive any reflected light from them.<sup>1</sup>

On the 9th of November, 1600, was born Charles, James's second son, afterwards Charles I. of England. With that country the king now carried on a close correspondence; first, with the earl of Essex, whom, on hearing of his imprisonment, he besought Elizabeth to spare, and afterwards, with the earl of Northumberland, Sir Robert Cecil, and other influential men, on the subject of his title to the English succession, which was generally acknowledged by the distinguished men connected with the English court.

On the 28th of March, 1603, Elizabeth expired, having named James as her successor, who was accordingly proclaimed king of England. His claim to the succession arose from his relationship to Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., who married James IV. of Scotland, great-grandfather of James VI. Immediately after Elizabeth's decease, Sir Robert Carey, who had formerly been kindly entertained by James, set off on a private expedition to Scotland, to convey to the new sovereign the message. Leaving London on Thursday morning, and stopping at his estate of Witherington on the way, from which he issued orders for proclaiming James at several places in the north of England, he reached Edinburgh on Saturday night, when the king had gone to bed, but, gaining admission, saluted him as king of England. Next morning Carey was created gentleman of the bed-chamber, and was at last elevated by Charles I. to the title of earl of Monmouth. The regular messengers to James, announcing his succession, soon arrived. One of the attendants, called Davis, the king recognized as the author of a poem on the immortality of the soul, which seems to have given him high satisfaction, and promised him his patronage, which he afterwards faithfully bestowed. Indeed, James, as a patron of literary merit, is entitled to respectful observation. He had already acted a munificent part in the foundation of the university of Edinburgh.

On the Sunday after his accession, the king attended at the High church, and, after sermon, addressed the audience on his affection for his Scottish subjects; and after committing his children to the care of trusty nobles, and making arrangements for the management of Scottish business, he set off, with a small number of attendants, from his ancient kingdom, over which he had reigned for thirty-five years. The reception he met with on the way was very magnificent, especially at Sir Robert Cecil's, Sir Anthony Mildmay's, and Mr Oliver Cromwell's.<sup>2</sup> In his progress, many petitions were presented and granted—volumes of poems were laid before him by the university of Cambridge, and the honour of knighthood was conferred on no fewer than two hundred and thirty-seven individuals. Even in these circumstances, however, he displayed his notions of royal prerogative, by ordering the recorder of Newark to execute a cut-purse, apprehended on the way. On reaching London, he added to the privy council six Scottish favourites, and also lord Montjoy, and lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the son and brother of the late duke of Norfolk; and, on the 20th of May, created several peers. Numerous congratulations flowed in upon the king. The marquis de Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully, arrived on the 15th of June. The following sketch of James as he appeared on this occasion to the marquis, is strong and striking:—"He was upright and conscientious; he had eloquence and even erudition—but less of these than of penetra-

<sup>1</sup> In this account of the conspiracy and summary of the evidence, we use a masterly condensation of the matter of Mr Pitcairn's documents which appeared in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> Uncle of the Protector.

tion and of the show of learning. He loved to hear discourses on matters of state, and to have great enterprises proposed to him, which he discussed in a spirit of system and method, but without any idea of carrying them into effect—for he naturally hated war, and still more to be personally engaged in it—was indolent in all his actions, except hunting, and remiss in affairs,—all indications of a soft and timid nature, formed to be governed.” The king entertained the marquis and his attendants at dinner; when he spoke with contempt of Elizabeth—a circumstance which probably arose from the control which he was conscious she had exercised over him, and especially the idea, which he expresses in one of the documents in the negotiations on an alliance with Spain, that she was concerned in the attempts of his Scottish enemies against him—and also of a double marriage he desired, between the French and English royal families.

The queen followed James a few weeks after his arrival, having on the eve of her departure quarreled with the earl of Mar, to whom James had committed the care of prince Henry, and whose letter to her, advising her not to treat him with disrespect, excited the passion of that high-spirited woman. She was crowned, along with her husband, on the 25th of July, by archbishop Whitgift, with all the ancient solemnity of that imposing ceremony. He soon after, by proclamation, called upon his subjects to solemnize the 5th of August in honour of his escape from the Gowrie conspiracy.

At the commencement of the following year was held the famous Hampton-court conference. On the first day, a few select individuals only were admitted to the king; on the following, four puritan ministers, chosen by the king himself, appeared—and his majesty presided as moderator. He conversed in Latin, and engaged in dispute with Dr Reynolds. In answer to an objection against the Apocrypha started by that learned divine, the king interpreted one of the chapters of Ecclesiasticus, according to his own ideas. He also pronounced an unmeasured attack on presbytery, which he said, “agreed as well with monarchy as God and the devil.”—“Stay,” he added, “I pray, for one seven years, before you demand; and then, if you find me grown puffy and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough.” On this occasion, Bancroft, bishop of London, flattered him as “such a king, as, since Christ’s time, the like had not been,”—and Whitgift professed to believe that his majesty spoke under the special influence of the Holy Spirit. With such flattery, is it to be greatly wondered at, that the king esteemed himself an accomplished theological disputant? Indeed, the whole conference seems to have been managed in a most unreasonable manner. It was followed by a proclamation enforcing conformity, and a number of puritans, both clergy and laity, severely suffered.

In March, 1604, the king, the queen, and the prince, rode in splendid procession from the Tower to Whitehall; and, at the meeting of parliament, a few days after, James delivered his first speech to that assembly. One part of it excited general disapprobation—that in which he expressed himself willing to favour the Roman catholics—a feeling on his part which probably arose from the prospects afforded him of friendship with countries so powerful as France and Spain, and also, perhaps, from some degree of attachment to the Romish faith, as that of his royal ancestors. At this meeting of parliament, the king also brought forward his favourite proposal of a union betwixt England and Scotland, the result of which was the appointment of a committee for drawing up articles of union; one of the most zealous members of which was Sir Francis Bacon. To this great man James showed great attachment; and, even if Sir Francis had not proved himself to be devoted with peculiar ardour to the king, it may be supposed that he would have been regarded by the latter with peculiar

pride, from that splendid series of publications which he had already begun to publish, and of which "The Advancement of Learning," with a very flattering dedication to the king, came forth in 1605.

A great part of the summer following the meeting of parliament, the king devoted to his favourite sport of hunting—his attachment to which continued through life, even when corpulence, arising from excess in drinking, which was a noted fault of James, had unfitted him for every active exercise. About this time, we find him engaged in arranging a marriage between Sir Philip Herbert and lady Susan Vere; writing from Royston to the council, that hunting was the only means to maintain his health, desiring them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foresee that he should not be interrupted nor troubled with too much business; and inquiring into the case of Haddock, called *the sleeping preacher*, from his being said to deliver excellent sermons, and speak excellent Greek and Hebrew in the midst of sleep, although very stupid when awake, who was brought by the king to confess that the whole was an imposture. But James was soon placed in a more serious situation, by the celebrated Gunpowder Plot, which was discovered on the 5th of November, for that day parliament had been summoned. A letter was found, supposed to have been written by the sister of lord Montegle, who, though approving of the conspiracy, and the wife of one of the conspirators, wished to preserve her brother from the meditated ruin. On examination, barrels of gunpowder were found deposited below the place where parliament was just about to meet, and the very train and match for the discharge of their contents were in readiness. The conspirators were, with considerable difficulty, discovered, and were found to comprehend some Jesuits; and to have been united by their common attachment to the Roman catholic religion, which in England had been lately treated with increased severity. Indeed there is much reason to believe that the plot in some degree depended on Spanish influence. At the meeting of parliament, a few days afterwards, James expatiated at great length on this terrible conspiracy; but still expressed himself indulgent to the English catholics. Shortly after appeared "A Discourse on the Gunpowder Plot," which is supposed to have been the composition of the king. The conspirators were condemned, and acts against the catholics were passed in parliament; but James continued to discover his unwillingness to treat them with severity.

In July, 1606, he received a visit from the king of Denmark, who was welcomed with imposing splendour. Prince Vandemont, a French relative of James, also paid a visit about this time to his royal kinsman. In November, the king again supported, before the parliament, his favourite scheme of a union between his Scottish and English kingdoms. The following passages give a curious example of his mode of conversation. The circumstances are given by Harrington, as having occurred about this time:—"He engaged much of learning, and showed me his own in such a sort as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and introduced profound sentences of Aristotle, and such-like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say, others do not understand."—"The prince did now press my reading to him part of a canto in Ariosto, praised my utterance, and said he had been informed of many as to my learning, in the time of the queen. He asked me what I thought pure wit was made of, and when it did best become; whether a king should not be the best clerk in his own country; and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom. His majesty did next press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matters of witchcraft, and asked me with much gravity, if I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient

women than others." His majesty asked much concerning my opinion of the new weed tobacco, and said it would, by its use infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned man ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden. After discoursing on religion, at length he said "I pray you, do me justice in your report, and in good season I will not fail to add to your understanding, in such points as I may find you lack amendment." Before this time the king had published not only his "Demonology," but also "A Counterblast to Tobacco."

In 1607, he published an answer to a work by Tyrone, and soon after his "*Triplici nodo triplex Cuneus*,"—a defence of an oath which was imposed on foreigners by an act of parliament, after the Gunpowder Plot. In 1609, he republished it, with a dedication to all Christian kings and princes, answers having been previously made to it by Bellarmine, and other writers. This has been considered as among the best of the king's productions, and is characterized by a late historian of his court, as "a learned defence of protestant principles, an acute exposure of the false statements and false reasonings of Bellarmine, and a vigorous but not intemperate manifesto against papal usurpation and tyranny; yet a vain and useless ostentation of parts and knowledge: and a truer judgment, by admonishing the royal author of the incompatibility of the polemical character with the policy and dignity of a sovereign, would have spared him the numerous mortifications and inconveniences which ensued."<sup>4</sup>

One great cause of the king's unpopularity was his excessive favour for a Scotsman of the name of Carr. In February, 1610, at the meeting of parliament, he did not appear in person, but he had the mortification soon after, of having his plan of a union disapproved by parliament, and a supply to himself refused. They were accordingly summoned to meet the king at Whitehall, where he explained to them his singular views of royal prerogative. The same year, Henry was appointed prince of Wales, on which occasion the ceremonies were continued for three days.

In 1611, James, when on a hunting expedition, received a book on the Nature and Attributes of God, by Conrad Vorstius. The king selected several doctrines which he considered heresies, and wrote to the Dutch government, signifying his disapprobation—Vorstius having lately received a professorship of divinity at Leyden, as successor of Arminius. He also ordered the book to be burned in London. Soon after, Bartholomew Legate was brought into his presence, accused of professing Arianism in the capital, after which he continued for some time in Newgate, and was then burned at Smithfield. About the same time a similar example of barbarous intolerance occurred. But it was in the same year that our English translation of the Bible was published—an undertaking which the king had set on foot, at the suggestion of Dr Reynolds, in 1604, which had been executed by forty-seven divines, whom James furnished with instructions for the work; and the fulfilment of which has been justly remarked as an event of very high importance in the history of the language, as well as of the religion of Great Britain. About the end of this year, the king founded a college at Chelsea, for controversial theology, with a view to answer the papists and puritans. His own wants, however, now led him to create the title of baronet, which was sold for £1000; and a man might purchase the rank of baron for £5000, of viscount for £10,000, and of an earl for £20,000. He also suffered about this time, by the death of the earl of Salisbury, whom he visited in his illness. But a domestic loss awaited him—which, however, it is said, occasioned him slighter suffering than might have been expected, although the nation felt it as a painful stroke. During preparations for the marriage of the

<sup>4</sup> Aiken's Court of James.

princess, the king's daughter, to the elector palatine, who arrived in England for the purpose on the 16th of October, 1612, prince Henry was cut off by death, on the 6th of November, having been taken ill the very day before the elector's arrival. This young prince was eminently distinguished by piety and honour, amiable manners and literary habits. His death-bed was cheered by the practice and consolations of the religion to which, amidst the seductions of a court, he had adhered in life, and he died, lamented by his family and country, in the nineteenth year of his age.

In February, 1613, the princess Elizabeth was married to the elector palatine—not, it is said, without the dissatisfaction of her father. The preparations, however, were of the most splendid kind; so that means were again adopted to supply the royal wants, as also in the following year.

In 1615, James paid a visit to the university of Cambridge, where he resided in Trinity college, and was received with many literary exhibitions, in the form of disputations, sermons, plays, and orations. In this year he wrote his "Remonstrance for the right of kings, and the independence of their crowns," in answer to a speech delivered at Paris in January by cardinal Perron, who sent it to James. This year also occurred the celebrated trials for the murder of Overbury, in the examinations previous to which James personally engaged. He had now lost his enthusiastic attachment to Carr, the person chiefly accused of this foul deed, whom he had created earl of Somerset, and who had lately been replaced in his affections by Villiers, the royal cup-bearer, whom he knighted, and appointed a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and whom he gradually advanced, until he was created duke of Buckingham.

In 1617, after some changes in the court, James paid a visit to Scotland, leaving Bacon as principal administrator in his absence. On this occasion literary exhibitions were presented to him by the universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews, and he also amused himself with his favourite sport. But he soon proceeded to enforce the customs of the English hierarchy on the Scottish people—a measure which, notwithstanding considerable encouragement from a General Assembly, which had been convoked with a view to the proposed alterations, the nation in general deemed an infringement of a promise he had made many years before, and which they succeeded, to a considerable degree, in resisting.

The following year was marked by another act of cruelty. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been confined in the Tower for twelve years, on the charge of having been engaged in a Spanish conspiracy, but had at last obtained release from his imprisonment, was condemned and executed, in consequence of his marked misconduct in an expedition to explore a mine in Guiana, which he had represented to the king as well fitted to enrich his exchequer. His execution, it will scarcely be doubted, was owing to the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, and enemy of Raleigh at the English court, in prospect of a marriage between prince Charles and the Spanish infanta. Soon after the queen died,—a woman who seems to have been by no means destitute of estimable qualities, but still more remarkable for the splendour of her entertainments, to which Ben Jonson and other writers contributed largely of their wit. Indeed that eminent dramatist seems to have been a person of considerable consequence at the English court. At this time James's own literary character was exhibited to the world in a folio edition of his works, edited, with a preface well supplied with flattery, by the bishop of Winchester. Soon after, on an application from prince Maurice for the appointment of some English divines, as members of a council for the settlement of the controversy between the Arminians and Gomarists, which was held at Dort in November, 1618, five learned men were nominated on



that commission, directed by James to recommend to the contending parties the avoidance, in public instruction, of the controverted topics. His favour to the church of England was manifested about the same time by his treatment of the celebrated Selden, who had written a work on "the history of tithes," in which he held the injustice of considering the alienation of what had once been churchlands to any other than ecclesiastical purposes, to be in every case an act of sacrilege. For this work the king required an explanation, and it was shortly afterwards prohibited by the high commission court. The nation in general was displeased with the rigour of the king's administration; with the plan, which he had not yet abandoned, of a marriage between his son and the infanta of Spain; and with the favouritism which he manifested, especially towards Villiers, whose connexions called on him for bountiful provisions, which the king, at his request, with gross facility, conceded.

In 1620, the circumstances of his son-in-law, the elector palatine, began to occupy the particular attention of the king. That prince, after having been chosen king by the Bohemians, who had thrown off the Austrian sway, and received support from various states of Germany, being at last in a very perilous condition, and on the 8th November, 1620, defeated at the battle of Prague. After much delay, in which he carried on a diplomatic interference, James at last agreed to send a supply of chosen men. But he soon resigned this active interference in his behalf; he called in vain for a benevolence from his wealthy subjects, to enable him, as he said, to give him a vigorous support, in the event of future urgency; and, finally, summoned a parliament, which had not met for many years, to deliberate on the subject. It met in January, 1621,—a parliament memorable for the investigation it made into the conduct of lord Bacon, and the sentence it pronounced on that distinguished man, who had published only a short time before, the second part of his immortal "*Novum Organum*." The king, however, had previously promised him either freedom from such a sentence, or pardon after it, and Bacon accordingly was soon released from imprisonment, and, in three years after, fully pardoned by the king. This parliament also granted supplies to James, but in the same year refused farther supplies to the cause of the palatine. James adjourned it in spite of the remonstrance of the house of commons; and on the same day occurred a well-known conversation of the king and the bishops Neale and Andrews: "My lords," said the king, "cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?" "God forbid, sir," said Neale, "but you should—you are the breath of our nostrils."—"Well, my lord," rejoined his majesty to Andrews, "and what say you?" He excused himself on the ground of ignorance in parliamentary matters. "No put-off, my lord," said James, "answer me presently." "Then, sir," said the excellent prelate, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, for he offers it." The king, however, had himself recommended to this parliament the investigation of abuses, and especially inveighed against corruption and bribery in courts of law. In this year he conferred the seals, which Bacon had resigned, upon Williams, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, who induced him to deliver the earl of Northumberland from imprisonment; and soon after, he very creditably interfered for the continuance of archbishop Abbot in his office, after he had involuntarily committed an act of homicide.

Parliament meeting again in February, 1622, the commons prepared a remonstrance to the king on the dissatisfaction which was generally felt with the position of affairs, both at home and abroad, and calling on him to resist the measures of the king of Spain—to enforce the laws against popery—marry his son to a protestant—support protestantism abroad, and give his sanction to the

bills which they should pass with a view to the interest of the nation. On hearing of this proceeding, the king addressed an intemperate letter to the speaker, asserting as usual, the interest of his "prerogative-royal." It was answered by the commons in a manly and loyal address, to which the king replied in a letter still more intemperate than the former. The commons, notwithstanding, drew up and recorded a protest, claiming the right of delivering their sentiments, and of deciding freely, without exposure to impeachment from their speeches in parliamentary debate, and proposing that, should there be objection made to any thing said by a member in the house, it should be officially reported to the king, before he should receive as true any private statement on the subject. This protest the king tore out of the journal of the house, ordered the deed to be registered, and imprisoned several of the individuals concerned, who, however, were soon afterwards liberated. But James still maintained his own authority; he strictly prohibited the general discussion of political subjects, and enjoined on the clergy a variety of rules, guarding them against preaching on several subjects, some of which must be regarded as important parts of the system which it is the duty of the clergy to proclaim.

On the 17th of February, 1623, prince Charles and the marquis of Buckingham set off on a visit to Spain, with a view to the marriage of the former with the infanta—although the king had resisted the proposal of this journey, which had been urgently made by the prince and Buckingham. On the circumstance being known in England, the favourite was loudly blamed, and the prince suspected of an attachment to popery. The travelers proceeded in disguise, visited Paris for a single day, and reached Madrid on the 6th of March. The earl of Bristol, the English ambassador, met them with surprise. James corresponded with them in a very characteristic manner, and sent a large supply of jewels and other ornaments, as a present for the infanta. The Spaniards were generally anxious for the consummation of the marriage. But the pope, unwilling to grant a dispensation, addressed to Charles a letter entreating him to embrace the Roman catholic religion, to which the prince replied in terms expressive of respect for the Romish church.

Accordingly, all was prepared for the marriage, which was appointed to take place on the 29th of August. But before the day arrived, pope Gregory had died—a circumstance which destroyed the force of the matrimonial articles; and the prince left Spain in the midst of general demonstrations of attachment to his person, and inclination towards the intended marriage. On his way to England, however, he discovered a coldness towards the measure, and shortly after his arrival in October, the king acceding to the proposal of the favourite, who was displeased at his reception in Spain, a letter was sent to the earl of Bristol, ordering him not to grant the proxy which was required according to the treaty, after the papal dispensation was obtained, before security should be given by Spain for the restoration of the Palatine. But even after the king of Spain had agreed to this proposal, James, persuaded by the favourite, expressed a wish that the matter should be broken off. But the low state of pecuniary resources into which these negotiations had reduced the English king, induced him to call a parliament, which met February, 1624, to which he submitted the matters about which he was now particularly interested. It offered supplies to the king for a war with Spain. War was declared, and the favourite of the king became the favourite of a large proportion of the nation. About the same time, an accusation of Buckingham, for his conduct in regard to Spain and Bohemia, was presented secretly to the king by the marquis Inojoso. It threw his majesty into excessive agitation; and on setting out for Windsor, he repulsed the duke, as he offered to enter the royal carriage. The duke inquired, with

tears, in what respect he had transgressed, but received only tears and reproaches in return. On receiving an answer by Williams, to the charges against the duke, he again received him into favour, and soon after broke off all friendly negotiations with Spain. He resisted, however—though not successfully—the proposal of Buckingham and Charles, that he should impeach the lord treasurer, on the ground of corruption in office. He also resisted—with much better reason—the petition of Buckingham, that the earl of Bristol should be forced to submit, exclaiming “I were to be accounted a tyrant to engage an innocent man to confess faults of which he was not guilty.” The earl, however, was prevented from appearing in the presence of the king, who also cautioned the parliament against seeking out grievances to remedy, although they might apply a cure to obviously existing ones.

June, 1624, was occupied by the king and Buckingham in carrying on measures for a marriage between prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. and daughter of Henry IV. ; and on the 10th of November, a dispensation having been with some difficulty obtained from the pope, the nuptial articles were signed at Paris. But in the spring of 1625, the king, whose constitution had previously suffered severely, was seized with ague, of which he died at Theobald's on the 27th of March, in the 59th year of his age. He was buried in Westminster abbey, and the funeral sermon was preached by Williams.

On the character of James, so palpable and generally known, it is not necessary to offer many observations. Much of his conduct is to be attributed in a great measure to his political advisers, who were often neither wise nor faithful. His own character embraced many combinations of what may be almost denominated inconsistencies. He was peculiarly subject to the influence of favourites, and yet exceedingly disposed to interfere with the course of political affairs. Indeed, to his warm and exclusive attachments, combined with his extravagant ideas of his own office and authority, may be traced the principal errors of his reign. He was, accordingly, irresolute, and yet often too ready to comply ; sensible to feeling, and yet addicted to severity ; undignified in manner, and yet tyrannical in government. Erring as was his judgment, his learning cannot be denied, though the use he often made of it, and especially the modes in which he showed it in the course of conversation, have been, with reason, the subjects of amusement. His superstition was great, but perhaps not excessive for the age in which he lived ; and it is said, that in his later days he put no faith in witchcraft. His religion was probably in some degree sincere, though neither settled nor commanding. Neither his writings nor his political courses, it is to be feared, have done much directly to advance the interests of liberal and prudent policy ; but in both there are pleasing specimens of wisdom, and both may teach us a useful lesson, by furnishing a melancholy view of the nature and tendency of tyranny, even when in some degree controlled by the checks of parliamentary influence and popular opinion.

JAMESONE, GEORGE, the first eminent painter produced by Britain, was born at Aberdeen towards the end of the 16th century. The year 1586 has been given as the precise era of his birth, but this we can disprove by an extract which has been furnished to us from the burgh records of his native town, and which shows that the eldest child of his parents (a daughter) was born at such a period of this year, as rendered it impossible that he could have been born within some months of it.<sup>1</sup> It is alone certain that the date of the painter's birth was

<sup>1</sup> The marriage of the parents of Jamesone is thus entered in these burgh records :

“Thair is promess of marriage betwix  
And<sup>o</sup> Jamesone }  
Marjore Andersone } in 17th August, 1585.”

posterior to 1586. Of the private life of this distinguished man few particulars are known; and of these few a portion rest on rather doubtful authority. Previously to his appearance, no man had so far succeeded in attracting the national attention of Scotland to productions in painting, as to render an artist a person whose appearance in the country was to be greatly marked: at that period of our history, too, men had other matters to occupy their minds; and it may well be believed, that, in passing through the fiery ordeal of the times, many men who in peace and prosperity might have had their minds attracted to the ornamental arts, were absorbed in feelings of a very different order, which hardly allowed them an opportunity of knowing, far less of indulging in the elegant occupations of peace. The father of Jamesone was Andrew Jamesone, burgess of guild of Aberdeen, and his mother was Marjory Anderson, daughter of David Anderson, one of the magistrates of that city. What should have prompted the parents of the young painter to adopt the very unusual measure of sending their son from a quiet fireside in Aberdeen, to study under Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp, must remain a mystery. The father is said to have been an architect, and it is probable that he had knowledge enough of art to remark the rising genius of his child, and was liberal enough to perceive the height to which the best foreign education might raise the possessor of that genius. If a certain Flemish building projecting into one of the narrow streets of Aberdeen, and known by the name of "Jamesone's house," be the production of the architectural talents of the elder Jamesone, as the period of the style may render not unlikely, he must have been a man of taste and judgment. Under Rubens, Jamesone had for his fellow scholar Sir Anthony Vandyke, and the early intercourse of these two artists had the effect of making the portraits of each be mistaken for those of the other. In 1620, Jamesone returned to Aberdeen, and established himself as a portrait-painter. He there, on the 12th of November, 1624, married Miss Isobel Tosh,<sup>2</sup> a lady with whom he seems to have enjoyed much matrimonial felicity, and who, if we may judge by her husband's representation of her in one of his best pictures,<sup>3</sup> must have been a person of very considerable attractions; he had by her several children, of whom the sons seem to have all met early deaths, a daughter being the only child he left behind him.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after the above entry, there occurs one regarding the baptism of their eldest child, the sister of the painter, in these terms:

"The penult day July, 1586. Ando. Jamesone, Marjore Andersone, dochtar in marceage, callit Elspett; James Robertson, Edward Denaldson, Elspatt Cuttes, Elspatt Mydilton, witnesses."

<sup>2</sup> The marriage is thus entered in the burgh records: "12th November, 1624, George Jamesone, Isobell Tosche."

<sup>3</sup> This picture represents the painter himself, and his wife and daughter. The grouping is very neat, and the attitudes of the hands as free from stiffness as those of almost any picture of the age. The daughter is a fine round-cheeked spirited-looking girl, apparently about 12 years old. Walpole says this picture was painted in 1623. From the date of Jamesone's marriage, this must be a mistake. This picture was engraved by Alexander Jamesone, a descendant of the painter, in 1728, and a very neat line engraving of it is to be found in Dallaway's edition of Walpole's Anecdotes.

<sup>4</sup> The following entry in the council records of Aberdeen relates to the birth of one of Jamesone's children: "1629 yeris—George Jamesone and ————Toche, ane sone, baptized be Mr Robert Baron the 27th day of July, callit William; Mr Patrick Done, Robert Alexander, Andrew Meldrum, William Gerdone, god-fathers." The next notice of him which we find in the same authority shows, that on the 2d January 1630, he was present at the baptism of a child of "James Toshe," probably a relation of his wife, at which, it may be mentioned, William Forbes, bishop of Edinburgh, officiated. In October of the same year we find him again demanding a similar duty for his own family: "October, 1630 yeires, George Jamesone and Isobell Toshe, ane sone, baptized the 27th day, callit Paul; Paul Menzies of Kimmundie provest, Mr Alexander Jallray, bailzie, Mr David Wedderburne, Mr Robert Patric, Patrick Jack, Patrick Fergusson, Andrew Strachan, godfathers." This

A curious evidence of the locality of Jamesone's residence in Aberdeen is to be found in an epigram on that city, by the painter's intimate friend Arthur Johnstone, author of the Latin version of the Psalms. It is interesting, as proving that Jamesone possessed what was then seldom to be found in Scotland, a habitation, which added to the mere protection from the inclemency of the seasons, some attempt to acquire the additions of comfort and taste. The epigram proceeds thus :—

Hanc quoque Lanaris mons ornat, amœnior illis,  
Hinc ferrugineis Spada colorat aquis :  
Inde suburbanum Jamesoni despiciis hortum  
Quem domini pictum suspicio esse manu.

In "A Succinct Survey of the famous city of Aberdeen, by Philopoliteius," the passage is thus "done" into what the author is pleased to term "English:"

"The Woolman hill, which all the rest outvies  
In pleasantness, this city beautifies ;  
There is the well of Spa, that healthful font,  
Whose yrne-hewed water coloureth the mount ;  
Not far from thence a garden's to be seen  
Which unto Jamesone did appertain :  
Wherein a little pleasant house doth stand,  
Painted as I guess with its master's hand." <sup>5</sup>

Jamesone appears to have been in Edinburgh during the visit of king Charles the First in the year 1633. To gratify the taste of that prince he was employed by the magistrates to paint portraits, as nearly resembling probable likenesses as he could devise, of some of the real or supposed early kings of Scotland. These productions had the good fortune to give satisfaction, and the unhappy king, who had soon far different matters to occupy his attention, sat for his portrait, and rewarded the artist with a diamond ring from his own finger. It is alleged that the painter was on this occasion indulged with a permission to remain covered in the presence of majesty, a circumstance which is made to account for his having always represented himself (and he was not sparing in

is a curious evidence of Jamesone's respectability as a citizen. Paul, afterwards Sir Paul Menzies, a man of considerable note in Aberdeenshire, and provost of the city, appears to have been name-father, and Alexander Jaffrey, another of the sponsors, was himself afterwards provost. The extractor of these entries remarks, that the chief magistrate appears to have acted as sponsor only at the baptisms of the children of very influential citizens.

<sup>5</sup> With farther reference to this piece of pleasure ground, and an anxiety to collect every scrap of matter which concerns Jamesone, we give the following entry, regarding a petition, of date the 15th of January, 1645, given in to the town council of Aberdeen by "Mr John Alexander, advocate in Edinburgh, makand mention that where that piece of ground callit the play-field besyd y<sup>e</sup> Wolman-hill (quhillk was set to umquhill George Jamesone, painter, burges of Edinburgh in liferent, and buildet be him in a garden) is now unprofitable, and that the said John Alexander, sone in law to the said umquhill George Jamesone, is desirous to have the same peice of ground set to him in few heritable to be houlden of the provest, bailies, and of the burghe of Aberdene, for payment of a reasonable few dutie yeirlie theirfor ;" prying the magistrates to set to him in feu tack the foresaid peice of ground : the request is granted by the magistrates, and farther official mention is made of the transaction of date the 10th November, 1646, where the "marches" of the garden are set forth in full. This piece of ground was the ancient "Play-field" of the burgh, which remained disused, after the Reformation had terminated the pageants and mysteries there performed. Persons connected with Aberdeen will know the spot when they are informed, that it is the piece of flat ground extending from the well of Spa to Jack's brae, bounded on the east by the Woolman hill, and the burn running at its foot ; on the south, by the Denburn, and the ridge of ground on which Skene street now stands ; on the west by Jack's brae, and on the north by the declivity occupied by the Gilcomston brewery. The appropriation of the spot to the garden of the painter is still noted by the name of a fountain, called "The Garden Ncuk Well."—*Council Record of Aberdeen*, liii. p. 37, 98.

portraits of himself,) with his hat on : neither is the permission characteristic of the monarch, nor its adoption by the artist ; and the peculiarity may be better attributed to a slavish imitation of his master Rubens, in a practice which had been sanctioned by the choice of Carracci and Guido.

It is probable that the patronage and notice of the monarch were the circumstances which introduced the paintings of Jamesone to the notice of the nobility. He appears, soon after the period we have alluded to, to have commenced a laborious course of portrait-painting, then, as now, the most lucrative branch of the art ; and the many portraits of their ancestors, still in possession of families dispersed through various parts of Scotland, attest the extent of his industry. The Campbells of Glenorchy, then an opulent and powerful family, distinguished themselves by their patronage of Jamesone. What countenance he may have obtained from other quarters we do not know, and the almost utter silence regarding so great a man on the part of contemporaries, makes a document which Walpole has rescued from oblivion, relative to his labours for the family of Glenorchy, highly interesting. From a MS. on vellum, containing the genealogy of the house of Glenorchy, begun in 1598, are taken the following extracts, written in 1635, page 52 :—" Item, the said Sir Coline Campbell, (eighth laird of Glenorchy,) gave unto George Jamesone, painter in Edinburgh, for king Robert and king David Bruysse, kings of Scotland, and Charles I., king of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, and his majesties quein, and for nine more of the queins of Scotland, their portraits, quhilks are set up in the hall of Balloch (now Taymouth), the sum of twa hundreth thrie scor pounds."—" Mair the said Sir Coline gave to the said George Jamesone for the knight of Lochow's lady, and the first countess of Argyll, and six of the ladys of Glenurquhay, their portraits, and the said Sir Coline his own portrait, quhilks are set up in the chalmers of Balloch, ane hundreth four scoire pounds."<sup>6</sup> There is a further memorandum, intimating that in 1635, Jamesone painted the family tree of the house of Glenorchy, eight feet long by five broad. What may have become of the portraits of Robert and David Bruce, and of the nine queens, which must have taxed the inventive talents of the artist, we do not know. Their loss may be, however, of little consequence, as we can easily argue from the general effect of Jamesone's productions, that his talent consisted in giving life and expression to the features before him, and not in design. The other paintings have, however, been carefully preserved by the family into whose hands they fell. They consist of portraits of Sir Duncan Campbell, the earl of Airth, John earl of Rothes, James marquis of Hamilton, Archibald lord Napier, William earl of Marischal, chancellor Loudoun, lord Binning, the earl of Mar, Sir Robert Campbell, Sir John Campbell, and the genealogical tree mentioned in the memorandum. All these are, we believe, still to be seen in good preservation in Taymouth castle, where in 1769 they were visited by Pennant, who thus describes the genealogical tree : " That singular performance of his, the genealogical picture, is in good preservation. The chief of the Argyll family is placed recumbent at the foot of a tree, with a branch ; on the right is a single head of his eldest son, Sir Duncan Campbell, laird of Lochow ; but on the various ramifications are the names of his descendants, and along the body of the tree are nine small heads, in oval frames, with the names on the margins, all done with great neatness : the second son was first of the house of Breadalbane, which branched from the other above four hundred years ago. In a corner is inscribed ' The Genealogie of the House of Glenorquhie, quhair-of is descendit sundrie nobil and worthie houses. *Jameson faciebat*, 1635.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Tour*, 1769, p. 87.

After a life which must have been spent in great industry, and enjoying independence, and even wealth, Jamesone died at Edinburgh in 1644, and was buried without a monument in the Grey Friars' church there.

Walpole, who obtained his information from a relation of the painter, says, "By his will, written with his own hand in July, 1641, and breathing a spirit of much piety and benevolence, he provides kindly for his wife and children, and leaves many legacies to his relations and friends, particularly to lord Rothes the king's picture from head to foot, and Mary with Martha in one piece: to William Murray he gives the medals in his coffer; makes a handsome provision for his natural daughter; and bestows liberally on the poor. That he should be in a condition to do all this, seems extraordinary, his prices having been so moderate; for, enumerating the debts due to him, he charges lady Haddington for a whole length of her husband, and lady Seton, of the same dimensions, frames and all, but three hundred marks: and lord Maxwell for his own picture and his lady's to their knees, one hundred marks, both sums of Scots money."<sup>8</sup> The average remuneration which Jamesone received for his portraits is calculated at twenty pounds Scots, or one pound thirteen shillings and four pence sterling. People have wondered at the extreme smallness of the sum paid to so great an artist; but, measured by its true standard, the price of necessary provisions, it was in reality pretty considerable, and may easily be supposed to have enabled an industrious man to amass a comfortable fortune. Walpole continues, "Mr Jamesone (the relation from whom the facts of the account were received), has likewise a memorandum written and signed by this painter, mentioning a MS. in his possession, 'containing two hundred leaves of parchment of excellent write, adorned with diverse histories of our Saviour curiously limned,' which he values at two hundred pounds sterling, a very large sum at that time! What is become of that curious book is not known." It is probable that the term "sterling" affixed to the sum, is a mistake. It was seldom if ever used in Scotland at the period when Jamesone lived. We are not given to understand that the "limning" was of the painter's own work, and we are not to presume he was in possession of a volume, superior in value to the produce of many years labour in his profession. The manuscripts, though mentioned with an estimation so disproportionate to that of the works of its proprietor, was probably some worthless volume of monkish illuminations, of which it would waste time to trace the ownership. The description might apply to a manuscript "Mirror of the Life of Christ," extant in the Advocates' Library.

We have already mentioned a considerable number of the portraits by Jamesone as extant in Taymouth castle. An almost equal number is in the possession of the Alva family; and others are dispersed in smaller numbers. Carnegie of Southesk possesses portraits of some of his ancestors, by Jamesone, who was connected with the family. Mr Carnegie, town clerk of Aberdeen, possesses several of his pictures in very good preservation, and among them is the original of the portrait of the artist himself, which has been engraved for this work. Another individual in Aberdeen possesses a highly curious portrait by Jamesone of the artist's uncle, David Anderson of Finzeach, merchant-burgess of Aberdeen, an eccentric character, the variety of whose occupations and studies procured him the epithet of "Davie do a' thing." Some of Jamesone's portraits hang in the hall of Marischal college in a state of wretched preservation. Sir Paul Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, presents us with a striking cast of countenance boldly executed; but in general these are among the inferior productions of Jamesone. They are on board, the material on which he painted his earlier productions (and which he afterwards changed for fine canvas), and are remark-

<sup>8</sup> Anecdotes, i. 250.

able for the stiffness of the hands, and the awkward arrangement of the dress ; two defects, which, especially in the case of the former, he afterwards overcame. There is in the same room a portrait of Charles I. of some merit, which the exhibitor of the curiosities in the university generally attributes to Vandyke. It is probably the work of Jamesone, but it may be observed, that there is more calm dignity in the attitude, and much less expression, than that artist generally exhibits. Walpole and others mention as extant in the King's college of Aberdeen, a picture called the " Sibyls," partly executed by Jamesone, and copied from living beauties in Aberdeen : if this curious production still exists in the same situation, we are unaware of its being generally exhibited to strangers. There is a picture in King's college *attributed* to Jamesone, which we would fain bestow on some less celebrated hand. It is a view of King's college as originally erected, the same from which the engraving prefixed to Orem's account of the cathedral church of Old Aberdeen, is copied. It represents an aspect much the same as that which Slezer has given in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, and, like the works of that artist, who could exhibit both sides of a building at once, it sets all perspective at defiance, and most unreasonably contorts the human figure. In characterizing the manner of Jamesone, Walpole observes that " his excellence is said to consist in delicacy and softness, with a clear and beautiful colouring ; his shades not charged, but helped by varnish, with little appearance of the pencil." This account is by one who has not seen any of the artist's paintings, and is very unsatisfactory.

It is indeed not without reason, that the portraits of Jamesone have frequently been mistaken for those of Vandyke. Both excelled in painting the human countenance,—in making the flesh and blood project from the surface of the canvas, and animating it with a soul within. That the Scottish artist may have derived advantage from his association with the more eminent foreigner it were absurd to deny ; but as they were fellow students, candour will admit, that the advantage may have been at least partly repaid, and that the noble style in which both excelled, may have been formed by the common labour of both. It can scarcely be said that on any occasion Jamesone rises to the high dignity of mental expression represented by Vandyke, nor does he exhibit an equal grace, in the adjustment of a breast plate, or the hanging of a mantle. His pictures generally represent hard and characteristic features, seldom with much physical grace, and representing minds within, which have more of the fierce or austere than of the lofty or elegant ; and in such a spirit has he presented before us the almost breathing forms of those turbulent and austere men connected with the dark troubles of the times. The face thus represented seems generally to have commanded the whole mind of the artist. The background presents nothing to attract attention, and the outlines of the hard features generally start from a ground of dingy dark brown, or deep grey. The dress, frequently of a sombre hue, often fades away into the back ground, and the attitude, though frequently easy, is seldom studied to impose. The features alone, with their knotty brows, deep expressive eyes, and the shadow of the nose falling on the lip—a very picturesque arrangement followed by Vandyke—alone demand the attention of the spectator. Yet he could sometimes represent a majestic form and attitude, as the well-known picture of Sir Thomas Hope testifies. We shall notice one more picture by Jamesone, as it is probably one of the latest which came from his brush, and exhibits peculiarities of style not to be met with in others. This portrait is in the possession of Mr Skene of Rubislaw, and represents his ancestor Sir George Skene of Fintray, who was born in 1619. The portrait is of a young man past twenty ; and it will be remarked, that the subject was only twenty-five years of age when the artist died. The picture is



authenticated from the circumstance of a letter being extant from the laird of Skene to Sir George Skene, requesting a copy of his portrait "by Jamesone," and in accordance with a fulfilment of this request, a copy of the portrait we allude to is in the family collection at Skene. Jamesone has here indulged in more fullness and brilliancy of colouring than is his general custom: the young man has a calm aspect; his head is covered with one of the monstrous wigs then just introduced; he is in a painter's attitude, even to the hand, which is beautifully drawn, and far more graceful than those of Jamesone generally are. On the whole, this portrait has more of the characteristics of Sir Peter Lely, than of Vandyke.

Jamesone has been termed the "Vandyke of Scotland," but he may with equal right claim the title of the Vandyke of Britain. Towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, Hilliard and Oliver had become somewhat distinguished as painters in miniature, and they commanded some respect, more from the inferiority of others, than from their own excellence; but the first inhabitant of Great Britain, the works of whose brush could stand comparison with foreign painters, was Jamesone.

A Latin elegy was addressed to the memory of Jamesone by David Wedderburn; and his friend and fellow townsman Arthur Johnston, (whose portrait had been painted by Jamesone), has left, in one of his numerous epigrams, a beautiful poetical tribute to his memory. After his death, the art he had done so much to support, languished in Scotland. His daughter, who may have inherited some portion of plastic genius, has left behind fruits of her industry in a huge mass of tapestry, which still dangles from the gallery of the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen. This lady's second husband was Gregory, the mathematician. A descendant of the same name as the painter has already been alluded to, as an engraver in the earlier part of the 18th century, and John Alexander, another descendant, who returned from his studies in Italy in 1720, acquired celebrity as an inventor of portraits of queen Mary.

JARDINE, GEORGE, A.M., for many years professor of logic in the university of Glasgow, was born in the year 1742, at Wandal, in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, where his predecessors had resided for nearly two hundred years. The barony of Wandal formerly belonged to the Jardines of Applegirth; a younger son of whom appears to have settled there about the end of the sixteenth century, and to have also been vicar of the parish during the time of episcopacy. The barony having passed from the Applegirth to the Douglas family, Mr Jardine's forefathers continued for several generations as tenants in the lands of Wandal, under that new race of landlords. His mother was a daughter of Weir of Birkwood in the parish of Lesmahagow.

After receiving his elementary education at the parish school, he, in October, 1760, repaired to Glasgow college, and entered as a member of a society, where, with very little interruption, he was destined to spend the whole of his life. After going through the preliminary classes, where his abilities and diligence attracted the attention and acquired for him the friendship of several of the professors, he entered the divinity hall under Dr Trail, then professor of theology, and in due time obtained a license as a preacher from the presbytery of Linlithgow. He did not, however, follow out that profession, having, from the good wishes of several of the professors of Glasgow college, reason to hope that he might eventually be admitted to a chair, which was the great object of his ambition.

In 1771, he was employed by baron Mure of Caldwell, to accompany his two sons to France, and to superintend their education at an academy in Paris. The baron, who was at that time one of the most influential men in Scotland,

and who lived much in the literary circle of Edinburgh, obtained from his friend David Hume, letters of introduction to several of the French philosophers of that day; by means of which Mr Jardine had the advantage of being acquainted with Helvetius and with D'Alembert, who were then in the zenith of their fame, and whose manners he used to describe as presenting a striking contrast,—Helvetius having all the style and appearance of a French nobleman of the first fashion, while D'Alembert preserved a primitive simplicity of dress and manner, at that time quite unusual in Paris. During his residence there, he lived a good deal in the society of Dr Gemm, the uncle of Mr Huskisson, who was then settled as a physician in Paris, and noted not only for his eminence in his profession, but for his talents as a philosopher. Dr Gemm was an ardent friend to liberty, and at that time did not scruple to anticipate, to those with whom he was intimate, the fall of the French monarchy as an event at no great distance. Mr Jardine had ample reason to be satisfied with the disposition and abilities of his two pupils, the late Mr Mure of Caldwell, and James Mure, Esq., counsellor at law, who is still alive; and he continued to the end of his life in habits of the most intimate and confidential friendship with both these gentlemen.

Soon after his return from France, in July, 1773, a vacancy occurred in the humanity chair of Glasgow, by the death of Mr Muirhead; for which a very keen competition arose between him and Mr Richardson, the result of which was doubtful until the very morning of the election, when, notwithstanding every exertion made in behalf of Mr Jardine, by lord Frederic Campbell, the lord rector, Mr Richardson carried the election by a majority of one vote. Upon this occasion, Mr Clow, the professor of logic, who had always befriended Mr Jardine, though, from a prior engagement, he, on this occasion, felt himself obliged to support the other candidate, told him not to be discouraged, for that there might ere long be an opportunity of his being admitted into their society. The expectations which Mr Clow thus kindly threw out, he very soon realized, for, towards the end of the following session, he intimated to the college, that, from his advanced age, he required to be relieved from the labour of teaching, and expressed a wish that Mr Jardine might be associated with him in the professorship. About this time, too, Dr Moor, professor of Greek, gave in his resignation; and in June, 1774, upon the same day, the faculty of Glasgow college elected Mr Young to the Greek chair, and appointed the subject of this memoir assistant and successor to Mr Clow.

By this arrangement, the charge of the three junior classes of Glasgow college came, at the same time, to devolve upon three men in the vigour of life, who all entered most zealously into the business of their respective departments, in which they soon introduced very material improvements:—in particular, they contrived to infuse a spirit of emulation among their pupils by the institution of prizes publicly distributed at the end of each session, to those who had distinguished themselves during the course—an institution which was gradually extended to other classes at Glasgow, and which has now been generally introduced into the other universities.

The business of the logic class had hitherto consisted in an explanation of the *Dialectics* of Aristotle, followed up, towards the end of the course, by an exposition of the most abstruse doctrines of metaphysics and ontology, embracing the general attributes of being, existence, essence, unity, necessity, &c., and other similar abstract conceptions of pure intellect. For the first year or two, the new professor followed the same track; but he soon discovered, from the examination of his students, that by far the greater number of them comprehended very little of the doctrines explained; that a few only of superior abilities could give any account of

them at all, and that the most of the young men remembered only a few peculiar phrases or technical expressions which they delivered by rote, unaccompanied by any distinct notion of their meaning. Besides, even when these abstract doctrines were understood, intelligent persons who sent their sons to the logic class, could not fail to observe, that the subjects to which their attention was directed had no relation to any profession or employment whatever, and that little could be derived from prelections on such topics, which was likely either to adorn conversation, or to qualify the student for the concerns of active life. Mr Jardine soon perceived, therefore, the necessity of a thorough and radical change on the subjects of his lectures, and after a simple analysis of the different powers of the understanding, with the means of their improvement, accompanied with a short account of Aristotle's logic, he devoted by far the greater part of the course to the original progress of language; the principles of general grammar; the elements of taste and criticism; and to the rules of composition, with a view to the promotion of a correct style, illustrated by examples. His course of lectures was, accordingly, entirely new-modelled, and he soon found that a great proportion of the students entered with awakened interest upon the consideration of these subjects, instead of the listless inattention which had been bestowed on the abstract doctrines of metaphysics.

But the greatest improvement which he introduced into the mode of conducting the business of the class, was a regular system of examinations and exercises. He was of opinion with Dr Barrow, "that communication of truth is only one half of the business of education, and is not even the most important half. The most important part is the habit of employing, to some good purpose, the acquisitions of memory by the exercise of the understanding; and till this be acquired, the acquisition will not be found of much use." The mere delivery of a lecture, especially to very young persons, he held of very little advantage, unless they were placed in the situation of those who were bound to give an account of it; and the exposition of the rules of composition to be of little avail, unless accompanied by the application of those rules by the student himself. Accordingly, at a separate hour in the forenoon, the students were examined each day on the lecture of the morning, and written essays were required from time to time on subjects more or less connected with those embraced in the lectures. These were regularly criticised by the professor in the presence of the class; and after the principles of criticism had been explained, they were, towards the end of the session, distributed among the students themselves, who were required to subjoin a written criticism upon each other's performances, under the superintendence of the professor; and prizes were bestowed at the end of the session, according to the determination of the students, to those who excelled in these daily examinations and exercises. This system of practical instruction is explained in all its details in a work published by Mr Jardine before he relinquished the charge of the logic class, entitled "Outlines of Philosophical Education," in which is to be found a full exposition of a system of academical discipline, which was pursued in the logic class of Glasgow, during the period of fifty years it was under his direction, and which are found by experience to be attended with the most beneficial effects.

The details of this system were, of course, attended with no small additional labour to the professor; for, besides two and occasionally three hours each day of public teaching, he had every evening to examine and correct the essays of the students, which were in such numbers as to occupy a large portion of his time. He was reconciled, however, to this tedious and laborious occupation by a thorough conviction of its great practical utility, which each year's additional experience tended more and more to confirm. He had the satisfaction, too, of

knowing that his labours were not without success, both from his students themselves, many of whom did not hesitate to ascribe their advancement in after-life to the active and industrious habits acquired in the logic class, and also from the opinion of the public at large, which was very clearly evinced by the progressive increase of the number of students; the average of which, when he entered upon the office, in the public class was about fifty, but which increased to nearly two hundred. This was, no doubt, partly owing to general causes, applicable to the times, but to a certain extent it was assuredly to be attributed to the great estimation in which this class was held by the public at large. Few teachers have ever enjoyed so large a portion of the respect and affection of their pupils. This was owing not a little to the warm interest which they could not fail to perceive he took in their progress,—to his strict impartiality, which admitted of no preference or distinction of any sort except that of talents and industry,—and to a kindly, affectionate, and almost paternal regard, which marked the whole of his demeanour to his students—who, dispersed, as they afterwards came to be, into all quarters of the globe, have very generally concurred in expressions of cordial esteem to their old preceptor. With such a hold upon the regard and affection of his class, he scarcely ever required to have recourse to the ordinary means of enforcing academical discipline.

From 1774, when he first entered upon his office, till 1824, when he gave up teaching, the business was systematically carried on in the way here described, with such improvements from time to time as were suggested by his experience; and he possessed such an excellent constitution, aided by a temper remarkably cheerful, that during the whole fifty years he was scarcely a single day absent from his class on account of indisposition. His predecessor, Mr Clow, survived till 1788, having the year before his death resigned to his successor the whole privileges of the office, with his seat in the faculty; and, notwithstanding the very laborious duties which he had imposed on himself by his mode of teaching, he still contrived to devote a portion of his time to the extrication of the patrimonial affairs of the college, and the arrangement of their accounts, which his business habits enabled him to undertake without much difficulty, and which, chiefly by his exertions, were brought from a state of comparative confusion into a very satisfactory arrangement. In 1792, likewise, when the royal infirmary was erected at Glasgow, he bestowed very great labour in promoting the undertaking, and for more than twenty years afterwards officiated as secretary, taking on himself the chief management of the affairs of the institution, from which he only retired a short time before his death, when he received the thanks of the managers for the unwearied attention he had bestowed on their business for nearly thirty years.

The private life of Mr Jardine did not present any great variety of incident. During the session he lived in college in terms of great friendship with several of his colleagues, particularly with the late professors Millar and Young, whose views in college affairs generally coincided with his own; and in summer he resided at a small property which he purchased in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, which he took great delight in adorning, and entered with much relish upon the employments of a country life, which formed an excellent relaxation after his winter labours. His residence in that quarter naturally occasioned a connexion with the presbytery of Hamilton, who, for upwards of thirty years, returned him as their representative to the General Assembly, which he regularly attended, taking a considerable share in the business, and generally coinciding in opinion with the late Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, with whom he lived for a great many years in habits of the most unreserved friendship. One of the last public appearances which he made was in May, 1825, upon the question of

pluralities, to which he had, on all occasions, been a determined adversary; when he opened the second day's debate by a forcible speech on the impolicy of uniting professorships with church livings; which, considering his great age, was viewed at the time as a very remarkable effort, and was listened to with profound attention.

In 1824, after having taught for fully half a century, he thought himself fairly entitled to retire from his labours. Those who attended the class during that last session did not perceive any abatement either of his zeal or energy; and during that winter he was not absent from his class a single hour. But he foresaw that the time could not be far distant when these exertions must cease, and he preferred retiring before he was actually compelled to do so by the infirmities of age. At the end of that session, he accordingly requested his colleagues to select a person to fill his place; declaring that he left the arrangement entirely to them, and that he would not interfere either directly or indirectly in the appointment, farther than by expressing an earnest wish that they might select one who would take a zealous interest in the prosperity of the class, and would continue the same system of active employment on the part of the students which had been found to be attended with so much benefit. Their choice fell upon the Rev. Robert Buchanan, minister of Peebles, who had himself carried off the first honour at this class, whose literary attainments are of a high order, and who zealously continues to follow out the same system of daily examinations and regular exercises, which was introduced by his predecessor.

Upon the occasion of his retirement from public teaching, a number of those who had been his pupils determined to show their respect by giving him a public dinner in the town hall of Glasgow, which was attended by upwards of two hundred gentlemen, many of whom came from a great distance to evince their respect for their venerable instructor. Mr Muir of Caldwell, his earliest pupil, was in the chair, and the present earl of Ormelie, who had been peculiarly under his charge at Glasgow college, and to whom he was very much attached, came from a great distance to officiate as croupier.

Mr Jardine survived about three years after his retirement from public duties; during which time he resided as usual during winter in college, and continued to take an active interest in the affairs of the society. While attending the General Assembly in May, 1826, he was seized with a bilious attack—almost the first illness he ever experienced—from which he never completely recovered, and he sank under the infirmities of age on the 27th of January, 1827, having just completed his 85th year; contemplating his dissolution with the composure of a Christian, and expressing his gratitude to the author of his being for the many blessings which had fallen to his lot; of which he did not consider as the least the numerous marks of esteem and regard evinced by his old pupils, with whom he was ever delighted to renew a kindly intercourse. His death was deeply regretted by the society of which he had been so long a member, and by the inhabitants of Glasgow, where he was very generally respected and esteemed.

In 1776, Mr Jardine married Miss Lindsay of Glasgow, whom he survived about twelve years, and by whom he had one son, now an advocate at the Scottish bar, and recently appointed sheriff of Ross and Cromarty.

JOHNSTON, (SIR) ARCHIBALD, of Warriston, (a judge by the designation of lord Warriston,) an eminent lawyer and statesman, was the son of James Johnston of Beirholm in Annandale, a descendant of the family of Johnston in Aberdeenshire, and who for some time followed a commercial life in Edinburgh, being mentioned in a charter of 1608, as "the king's merchant." The mother of the subject of our memoir was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, the first great lawyer produced by Scotland, and whose life has already been given in the

present work. Of the date of the birth of Archibald Johnston, and the circumstances of his education, no memorial has been preserved: he entered as advocate in 1633. In the great national disturbances which commenced in 1637, Johnston took an early and distinguished part; acting, apparently, as only second to Sir Thomas Hope in giving legal advice to the covenanters. The second or general supplication of the nation to Charles I. for relief from his episcopal innovations was prepared by the earl of Rothes and Archibald Johnston; the former being preferred on account of his distinction as an active and influential partisan, and the latter from the general character given of him by his friends, as singularly well acquainted with the history and constitution of the genuine presbyterian church of Scotland. This document, which was presented to the privy council on the 24th of September, 1637, in the presence of a band of the supporters of its principles, which made the act more solemn than a regal pageant, leaves for the politicians of all ages a fine specimen of that calmness in reasoning and statement which men of judgment and principle know to be necessary for the preservation of order in a state, when they are representing grievances, however deep, to a governor, however unreasonable; and of that firmness of position, which, when supported by a hold of popular opinion, must either be allowed to prevail, or leave to him who obstructs it the odium of the confusion which may follow. After the supplicants, who had increased to a vast body of men, spreading over the whole of the southern part of Scotland, had united themselves under a representative constitution, termed "the Tables" a renewal of the national covenant was judged a useful measure for a combination of effort, and the insurance of a general union and purpose. Johnston and the celebrated Alexander Henderson were employed to suit the revered obligation to which their ancestors had sworn, to the new purpose for which it was applied, by including the protestations against the liturgy of the episcopal church, under the general declarations which it previously bore against the doctrine of the church of Rome, and adducing authorities in support of the new application. The obligation was signed in March, 1638, under circumstances too well known to be recapitulated.<sup>1</sup>

Johnston, although from his secondary rank, he did not then assume the authority of a leader, was, from his knowledge and perseverance, more trusted to in the labours of the opposition than any other man, and his name continually recurs as the agent in every active measure. To the unyielding and exasperating proclamation, which was read at the market-cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of February, 1638, he prepared and read aloud, on a scaffold erected for the purpose, the celebrated protestation in name of the Tables, while the dense crowd who stood around prevented the issuers of the proclamation from departing before they heard the answer to their challenge. On the 8th of July, the king issued another proclamation, which, though termed "A proclamation of favour and grace," and though it promised a maintenance of the religion *presently professed within the kingdom* without innovation, an interim suspension of the service book, a rectification of the high commission, and the loudly called for general assembly and parliament, was, with reason, deemed more dangerous than a defiance. Johnston had a protestation prepared for the delicacy of this trying occasion, which, with the decorum from which he seems on no occasion to have departed, he, "in all humility, with submissive reverence," presented in presence of the multitude.<sup>2</sup> When, on the 22nd of September, the parliament and

<sup>1</sup> For such matters connected with this period as are here, to prevent repetition, but slightly alluded to, vide the memoirs of Henderson; of Montrose; and of the first duke of Hamilton, in this collection.

<sup>2</sup> Balfour's Annals, ii. 276.

general assembly were proclaimed, he prepared another protestation in a similar tone to the former, which he read in his own name, and in that of the earl of Montrose, for the nobles; Gibson younger of Durie for the barons; George Porterfield, merchant in Glasgow, for the burghs; and Henry Pollock, minister of Edinburgh, for the clergy. It will be easily conjectured that, at the period when he was thus publicly employed, Johnston was privately acting as a partisan of the covenant, and an enemy of prelacy and arbitrary power, by all the means which a political agent invariably uses. At such a period the more we can trace the private proceedings and feelings of the public man, the better can we hold him up as a biographical example. As the only curious document connected with our subject at this period of his existence, we give the following somewhat mutilated letter to Johnston, from a person who does not choose to sign his name; it is characteristic of the feeling of the party, and of the occupation of the subject of our memoir; and if to a speculative politician it may breathe an illiberal spirit, let him remember that there never existed a party, however pure, which did not wish to suppress the opposite party, and that not having power and numbers on their side, the opponents of the covenant were in the situation of disturbers of society, in as far as they wished to impose rules on the whole kingdom.

✧ For Mr Archibald Johnston of Warriston, advocate.

"Dear Christian brother and courageous Protestant,—Upon some rumour of the Prelate of St Andrews, his coming over the water, and finding it altogether inconvenient that he or any of that kynd should show themselves peaceably in publicke, some course was taken how hee might be enterteined in such places as he should come unto; we are now informed that hee (will) not come, but that Broughen is in Edinburgh or thereabout; it is the advyce of your friends here, that in a private way some course may be taken for his terror and disgrace if he offer to show himself in publick. Think upon the best r . . . by the advyce of your friends there. I fear that their publick appearance at Glasgow shall be prejudiciall to our cause. We are going to take order (with) his cheefe supporters there, Glaidstaines, Skrymgoor, and Hallyburton . . . Wishing you both protection and direction from your maister, I continew, youre owne whome you know. G."

"28th October, 1638."<sup>3</sup>

Such was the feeling in which the leaders of the Covenant prepared themselves for the renowned General Assembly held at Glasgow in November and December, 1638. On that occasion Johnston was, by a unanimous vote, chosen clerk of the assembly. On its being discovered that his precursor had been enabled to procure only two of the seven volumes of minutes of the general assemblies held since the Reformation, the moderator, probably in pursuance of a preconcerted measure, called upon all those who were aware of the existence of any others, to give information on the subject to the assembly. Johnston hereupon produced the other five volumes—how obtained by him we know not—by which service he greatly increased the confidence previously placed in him. On the day before the session terminated, the assembly elected him procurator for the church, and, as was afterwards ratified by act of parliament, he received for the former of these offices 500, and for the latter 1000 merks yearly.<sup>4</sup>

Johnston was one of the commissioners appointed by the Scots to conduct the treaty at Berwick. The General Assembly, which was the consequence of that pacification, passes over, and the unsatisfactory parliament which followed, is commenced, ere we again observe Johnston's name connected with any public affairs, beyond the usual routine of his duties. The parliament commenced its

<sup>3</sup> Wodrow's Collection, Advoc. Lib., vol. lxvi. No. 58

<sup>4</sup> Balf. An. ii. 301, 313; Scots Worthies, 271; Act. Parl. v. 316.

sittings on the 31st of August, 1639. On the 14th of November, Sir Thomas Hope, in his official capacity as lord advocate, produced a warrant from the king addressed to the commissioners, which, on the ground that the royal prerogative was interested in the proceedings, ordered a prorogation to the 2nd of June, 1640. The warrant was read by Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, one of the clerks of session, on which the lord advocate took the usual protest, calling on the clerk actually to dissolve the meeting. On this, the clerk, who was performing an unpleasing office, answered, "that he had already read the said warrant containing the said prorogacioun, and was readie to read the same as oft as he should be commanded, but could not otherways prorogat the parliament." The earl of Rothes added to his embarrassment, by challenging him to "do nothing but as he would be answerable to the parliament, upon payne of his life." And the junior clerk, Mr William Scott, being called on to dissolve the meeting, sagaciously declined officiating in the presence of his senior.

Johnston then came forward, and, in name of the three estates, read a declaration, purporting that his majesty, having, in compliance with the wish of his faithful subjects, called a free assembly and parliament, and submitted matters ecclesiastical to the former, and matters civil to the latter; the commissioner had (it was presumed) without the full permission of the king, attempted to dissolve the parliament—a measure which, the estates maintained, could not be constitutionally taken, without the consent of the parliament itself. With that respect for the person of the king which, as the advocates of peaceful measures, the covenanters at that period always professed to maintain, the document proceeds to state that the estates are constrained to the measure they adopt by "our zeal to acquit ourselves according to our place, both to the king's majesty, whose honour at all tymes, but especially convened in parliament, we ought to have in high estimation, and to the kingdom which we represent, and whose liberties sall never be prostituted or vilified by us." Having denounced the prorogation as unconstitutional, this remarkable state-paper thus proceeds—"But becaus we know that the eyes of the world ar upon us, that declarations have been made and published against us, and malice is prompted for hir obloquies, and wateth on with opin mouth to snatch at the smallest shadow of disobedience, disservice, or disrespect to his majesty's commandments, that our proceedings may be made odious to such as know not the way how thes commandments are procured from his majesty, nor how they are made knowin and intimat to us, and doe also little consider that we are not now private subjects bot a sitting parliament, quhat national prejudices we have susenit in tyme past by misinformation, and quhat is the present state of the kingdom;" so arguing, the presenters of the declaration, that they may put far from them "all shaw or appearance of what may give his majesty the least discontent," resolve, in the mean time, merely to vindicate their rights by their declaration, and, voluntarily adjourning, resolve to elect some of each estate, as a permanent committee, endowed with the full powers of a parliamentary committee, to "await his majesty's gracious answer to our humble and just demands, and farther to remonstrat our humble desires to his majesty upon all occasions; that hereby it may be made most manifest, against all contradiction, that it wes never our intention to denie his majesty any parte of the civill and temporal obedience which is due to all kings from their subjects, and from us to our dread soverane after a special maner, bot meerlie to preserve our religion, and the liberties or the kingdome, without which religion cannot continue long in safetie."—"And if it sall happen," continues this prophetic declaration, "(which God forbid) that, efter we have made our remonstrances, and to the uttermost of our power and duetie used all lawfull meanes for his majesty's information, that our mali-



cious enemies, who are not considerable, shall, by their suggestions and lyes, prevail against the informations and generall declarations of a whole kingdom, we tak God and men to witness, that we are free of the outrages and insolencies that may be committed in the mean tyme, and that it shall be to us no imputation, that we are constrained to tak such course as may best secure the kirk and kingdome from the extremitie of confusion and miserie."

It is to be remarked, that this act of the covenanters did not assume the authority of a protest; it was a statement of grievances to which, for a short time, they would submit, supplicating a remedy. The assertion that the crown had not the sole power of proroguing parliament, may be said to be an infringement of prerogative; but this very convenient term must owe its application to practice, and it appears that the royal power on this point had not been accurately fixed by the constitution of the Scottish parliament. The choice of the lords of articles by the commissioner—a step so far a breach of "privilege" (the opposite term to prerogative), that it rendered a parliament useless as an independent body—was likewise remonstrated against, along with the application of supplies without consent of parliament.

The earls of Dunfermline and Loudon were sent as commissioners to represent the declaration to the king. "They behaved themselves," says Clarendon, "in all respects, with the confidence of men employed by a foreign state, refused to give any account but to the king himself; and even to the king himself gave no other reason for what was done, but the authority of the doers, and the necessity that required it; that is, that they thought it necessary: but then they polished their sturdy behaviour with all the professions of submission and duty which their language could afford."

As connected with this mission, some historians have alluded to, and others have narrated, a dark intrigue, of which Johnston was the negative instrument; a matter which has never been cleared up. We shall give it in the words of Burnet, the nephew of Johnston, and who had therefore some reason to know the facts. "After the first pacification, upon the new disputes that arose, when the earls of Loudon and Dunfermling were sent up with the petition from the covenanters, the lord Saville came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they saw the king was highly irritated against them. He took great pains to persuade them to come with their army into England. They very unwillingly hearkened to that proposition, and looked on it as a design from the court to ensnare them, making the Scots invade England, by which this nation might have been provoked to assist the king to conquer Scotland. It is true, he hated the earl of Strafford so much, that they saw no cause to suspect him; so they entered into a treaty with him about it. The lord Saville assured them, he spoke to them in the name of the most considerable men in England, and he showed them an engagement under their hands to join with them, if they would come into England, and refuse any treaty but what should be confirmed by a parliament of England. They desired leave to send this paper into Scotland, to which, after much seeming difficulty, he consented: so a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one Frost, afterwards secretary to the committee of both kingdoms, was sent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three persons—the earls of Rothes and Argyle, and to Warriston, the three chief confidants of the covenanters. \* \* \* \* To these three only this paper was to be showed, upon an oath of secrecy: and it was to be deposited in Warriston's hands. They were only allowed to publish to the nation that they were sure of a very great and unexpected assistance, which, though it was to be kept secret, would appear in due time. This they published; and it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the nation: but it was

afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of lord Saville's, who had forged all those subscriptions. \* \* \* The lord Saville's forgery came to be discovered. The king knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to trust him, and to advance him to be earl of Sussex. The king pressed my uncle (Johnston) to deliver him the letter, who excused himself upon his oath: and not knowing what use might be made of it, he cut out every subscription, and sent it to the person for whom it was forged. The imitation was so exact, that every man, as soon as he saw his hand simply by itself, acknowledged that he could not have denied it."<sup>5</sup> Burnet had certainly the best opportunities for both a public and private acquaintance with such an event, and the circumstance has been at least hinted at by others; but Mr Laing justly remarks that "in their conferences with these noblemen, and with Pym and Hambden, the Scottish commissioners during their residence in London must have received such secret assurances of support, that, without this forged invitation, the committee of Estates would have chosen to transfer the war into England."<sup>6</sup>

At the parliament which met on the 2nd of June, 1640, the representative of majesty in that body choosing to absent himself, or dreading the danger of a journey to Scotland, the Estates proceeded to reduce themselves to a formal and deliberative body, by the choice of a president. To this convention Johnston produced a petition from the General Assembly, which had been ratified by the privy council, praying for a legislative ratification of the covenant, and an order that it should be enforced on the inhabitants of the country with all civil pains,<sup>7</sup>—a requisition which the convention was not in a disposition to refuse. On the 11th of June, by the 34th act of this parliament, the celebrated committee of forty, having, in absence of the superior body which called it into existence, the full legislative power of a republican congress, was elected, and the members were divided betwixt the camp and Edinburgh. Our surprise that so influential and laborious a man as Johnston was not chosen a member of this body, is relieved by the place of higher, though somewhat anomalous trust to which we find him appointed, as general agent and adviser to the body—a sort of leader, without being a constituent member. "And because," says the act, "there will fall out in the camp a necessitie either of treatties, consultations, or public declarations, to schaw the reasones of the demands and proceedings in the assemblie and parliament, and the prejudices agains either of them, the Estates ordayne ~~Mr~~ Archibald Johnston, procurator for the kirk, as best acquaint with these reasons and prejudices, to attend his excellence (the general) and to be present at all occasions with the said committee, for their farther information, and clearing thairanent."<sup>8</sup> Johnston was one of the eight individuals appointed to treat with the English commissioners at Rippon, by an act of the great committee of management, dated the 30th of September, 1640.<sup>9</sup> When this treaty was transferred to London Johnston was chosen a member of the committee, along with Henderson, as supernumeraries to those appointed from the Estates, and probably with the peculiar duty of watching over the interests of the church, "because many things may occurre concerning the church and assemblies thereof."<sup>10</sup>

The proceedings and achievements of this body are so well known, that, in an article which aims at giving such memorials of its subject, as are not to be readily met with in the popular histories, they need not be repeated. On the 25th day of September, 1641, Johnston produced in parliament a petition that he might be exonerated from all responsibility as to the public measures with which he had for the previous four years been connected, mentioning the

<sup>5</sup> Burnet, 37, 39, 41.

<sup>8</sup> Act. Parl., v. 311.

<sup>6</sup> Laing, iii. 194.

<sup>9</sup> Balfour's An., ii. 408.

<sup>7</sup> Act. Parl., v. 293.

<sup>10</sup> Balf. An., ii. 416.

important office which he held as adviser to the commissioners attending on the motions at the camp, and the duties he was called on to perform at the treaty of Rippon and London; and observing, that it has been considered necessary that others so employed should have their conduct publicly examined in parliament, he craves that all requisite inquiry may immediately be made as to his own proceedings; that, if he has done any thing "contrair to their instructions, or prejudicial to the publick, he may undergoe that censure which the wrongers of the countrey and abusers of such great trust deserves;" but if it has been found that he has done his duty, "then," he says, "doe I in all humility begg, that, seing by God's assistance and blessing the treattie of peace is closed, and seeing my employment in thir publick business is now at an end, that before I returne to my private affaires and calling, from the which these four yeirés I have been continually distracted, I may obtaine from his gracious majesty and your lordships, an exoneration of that charge, and an approbation of my former carriage." The exoneration was granted, and the act ratifying it stated, that after due examination, the Estates found that Johnston had "faithfullie, diliegentlie, and cairfullie behaved himselff in the foresaid chairge, employments, and trust put upon him, in all the passages thairof, as he justly deserves thair treu testimonie of his approven fidelitie and diligence."<sup>11</sup>

In 1641, when the king paid his pacificatory visit to Scotland, Johnston obtained, among others, a liberal peace-offering. He had fixed his eyes on the office of lord register, probably as bearing an affinity to his previous occupations; but the superior influence of Gibson of Durie prevailed in competition for that situation: he received, however, the commission of an ordinary lord of session, along with a liberal pension, and the honours of knighthood. During the sitting of the parliament we find him appointed as a commissioner, to treat with the king on the supplementary matters which were not concluded at the treaty of Rippon, and to obtain the royal consent to the acts passed during the session. Much about the same period, he was appointed, along with others, to make search among the records contained in the castle, for points of accusation against the "incendiaries;" the persons whom he and his colleagues had just displaced in the offices of state and judicature. It may be sufficient, and will save repetition, to mention, that we find him appointed in the same capacity which we have already mentioned, in the recommissions of the committee of Estates, and in the other committees, chosen to negotiate with the king, similar to those we have already described, among which may be noticed the somewhat menacing committee of 1641, appointed to treat as to commerce, the naturalization of subjects, the demands as to war with foreigners, the Irish rebellion, and particularly as to "the brotherlie supplie and assistance" of the English parliament to the Scottish army.<sup>12</sup>

In the parliament of 1643 Sir Archibald Johnston represented the county of Edinburgh, and was appointed to the novel situation of speaker to the barons, as a separate estate. In this capacity, on the 7th of June, 1644, he moved the house to take order concerning the "unnatural rebellion" of Montrose,<sup>13</sup> and somewhat in the manner of an impeachment, he moved a remonstrance against the earl of Carnwath, followed by a commission to make trial of his conduct, along with that of Traquair, of which Johnston was a member.<sup>14</sup> During the period when, as a matter of policy, the Scots in general suspended their judgment between the contending parties in England, Warriston seems early to have felt, and not to have concealed, a predilection for the cause of the parliament,

<sup>11</sup> Act Parl., v. 414.

<sup>13</sup> Balfour's Anecdotes, iii. 177.

<sup>12</sup> Act. Par., v. 357, 371, 372, 489, &c.

<sup>14</sup> Act Parl., vi. 6. 8.

and was the person who moved that the general assembly should throw the weight of their opinion in that scale.<sup>15</sup>

Johnston had been named as one of the commissioners, chosen on the 9th August, 1643, for the alleged purpose of mediating betwixt Charles I. and his parliament; but Charles, viewing him as a dangerous opponent, objected to providing him with a safe conduct, and he appears to have remained in Edinburgh. He, however, conducted a correspondence with the commissioners who repaired to London, as a portion of which, the subjoined letter to him from the earl of Loudon, which throws some light on the policy of the Scots at that juncture, may be interesting.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> A curious evidence of his opinions, and the motives of his political conduct at this period, exists, in the form of some remarks on the aspect of the times, which appear to have been addressed to his friend lord Loudon. The manuscript is in scroll, very irregularly written, and with numerous corrections; circumstances which will account for any unintelligibility in the portion we extract. It bears date the 21st of June, 1642. "Seeing thir kingdoms most stand and fall together, and that at the first design in all thir late troubles, so the last effort of thies evil counsels prevailing stil to the suppression of religion and liberty and the erection of poperye and arbitrary power, it is earnestlye desyrd by good Christians and patriots that the question of the warr be right stated, as a warr for religion and libertie, against papists and prelates, and their abackers and adherents; and that now, in thair straits and difficulties, they might enter in a covenant with God and amongst themselves, for the reformation of the church, abolishing of popery and prelacy out of England and Scotland, and preservation of the roule and peace of thir kyngdoms, q<sup>k</sup> without diminution of his majesty's authorities, might not only free them of fears from this, bot also fill them with hopes of their bearing alongst with their proceedings the hearts and confidence of thir kingdoms. Pitmaylie may remember weal what of this kynd was motioned at Rippon, and spoken of agayne, when the English armye was reported to be comyng up."—*Wodrow's Papers*, Ad. Lib. vol. lxvi.

<sup>16</sup> "My lord,—The sending of commissioners from the parliament here to the parliament of Scotland at this tyme, was upon the sudden moved in the House of Commons (befoir wee wer acquainted thereof) by the solicitor, and seconded by some who profes to be o<sup>r</sup> freinds as a greater testimonie of respect than the sending of a letter alone, and was in that sens approved by the whole hous, who, I believe, does it for no other end, neither is ther any other instructions given by the house than these, whereof the copy is sent to you, which ar only generall for a good correspondence betwixt the two kingdomes. Bot I cannot forbear to tell you my apprehensions, that the intention and designs of some particular persons in sending down at this tyme, and in such a juncture of affaires (when ther is so great rumor of division and factiones in Scotland), is by them to learne the posture of business ther in the parl<sup>t</sup>, assemblies, and kingdome, that they may receive privat information from them, and make ther applicationes and uses thereof accordinglie. That which confirms this opinion to me the more, is, that the sending of these persones to Scotland was moved and seconded by such as profes themselves to be o<sup>r</sup> freinds w<sup>o</sup>ut giving us any notice thereof till it was done; and the day before it was motioned, they and yo<sup>r</sup> old friend Sir Henry Vaine younger, wer at a consultation together, and yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>r</sup>: knows how much power Sir Henrie Vain hes with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Armyne and Mr Bowlls.\* Sir William Armyne is a very honest gentleman, but Mr Bowlls is very deserving, and doubtless is sent (thoghe not of intention of the parl<sup>t</sup>) as a spy to give privat intelligence to some who are jealous and curious to understand how all affairs goe in Scotland. Thomsone I hear is a Independent, and (if he goe not away before I can meitt with some freinds) I shall c'tryve that there may be a snare laid in his gaitt to stay his journey; they wold be used with all civillitie when they come, bot yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>r</sup>: and others wold be verie warie and circumspect in all yo<sup>r</sup> proceedings and deallings w<sup>t</sup> them; seeing the hous of parl<sup>t</sup> and all such heir as desyres a happie and weell-grounded peace, or a short and prosperous warre, ar desyrus that the Scottish armie advance southward (although I dare not presume to give any positive judgment without presyse knowledge of the condition and posture of o<sup>r</sup> own kingdom), I cannot see any human means so probable and lyklye to settle religion and peace, and make o<sup>r</sup> nation the more considerable, as the advancing of o<sup>r</sup> armie southward if the turbulent comotions and rud distractions of Scotland may permitt, nor is it possible that so great an armie can be longer entertained by the northern counties, so barren and much waisted with armies; ner can it be expected that the parl<sup>t</sup> of England can be at so great charge as the entertainment of that armie (if they did reallie intertain them), unless they be more useful for the caus and publick service of both kingdomes than to lye still in the northern counties, being now reduced, and the king to vex the south with forces equal to theirs; bot there needs not arguments to prove this poynt, unless that base crewe of Irish rebels and their perfidious confederates, and the unnatural factions of o<sup>r</sup> countrymen for-

\* The English commissioners were—the earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Van (younger), Thomas Thatcher, and Henry Darnly.

We find Johnston sent to London, on the 4th of July, 1644, and it is probable that, before that time, he had managed to visit England without the ceremonial of a safe-guard from the falling monarch; and on the 9th of January, 1645, we find him along with Mr Robert Barclay, "two of our commissioners lattlie returned from London," reporting the progress of their proceedings to the house.<sup>17</sup> The proceedings of this commission, and of the assembly of divines at Westminster, with which Warriston had a distinguished connexion, may be passed over as matters of general history. Warned, probably, by the cautious intimations of the letter we have just quoted, Johnston was the constant attendant of the English commissioners on their progress to Scotland, and was the person who moved their business in the house.<sup>18</sup> On the death of Sir Thomas Hope, in 1646, Johnston had the influence to succeed him as lord advocate, an office for which he seems to have seasoned himself by his numerous motions against malignants. With a firm adherence to his previous political conduct, Johnston refused accession to the well-known engagement which the duke of Hamilton conducted as a last effort in behalf of the unfortunate monarch.

On the 10th of January, 1649, the marquis of Argyle delivered a speech, "wiche he called the brecking of the malignants' teith, and that he quho was to speake after him, (viz. Warriston) wolde brecke ther jawes." Argyle found the teeth to be five, which he smashed one by one:—"His first was against the ingagers being statesmen, and intrusted with great places, quho had broken their trust. II. Against the engagers' committee-men, quho by ther tyranny had opprest the subjects. III. Against declared maligants, formerlye fyned in parliament, or remitted, and now agayne relapsed. IV. Against thesse that wer eager promotters of the laitt ingagement with England. V. Against suche as had petitioned for the advancement of the levey." After these were demolished, Johnston commenced his attack on the toothless jaws; he "read a speache two houres in lenthe, off his papers, beinge ane explanatione of Argyle's five heads, or teith, as he named them; with the anssuering of such objects he thought the pryme ingagers wolde make in their awen defence against the housse now convened, wiche they did not acnouledge to be a lawfull parliament."<sup>19</sup>

On the 6th of January, the imminent danger of the king prompted the choosing a committee to act for his safety under instructions. The instructions were fourteen; and the most remarkable and essential, was, that a protest should be taken against any sentence pronounced against the king. "That this kingdome may be free of all the dessolatione, misery, and bloodshed, that incertablie will follow thereupone, without offering in your ressonne, that princes ar eximied from triall of justice."<sup>20</sup> This was by no means in opposition to the principles which Johnston had previously professed, but his mind appears to have been finally settled into a deep opposition to all monarchy. Along with Argyle he distinguished himself in opposing the instructions, by a method not honourable to their memory—a proposition that the measure should be delayed for a few days, to permit a fast to be held in the interim. One of the last of his ministerial

getting or covenant, ar grown to such a hight of mischeef and misery, as to make such a rent at home as to disable us to assist or freinds, and prosecute that cause which I am confident God will carrie one and perfyte against all oppositione; and in confidence thereof I shall encourage myselfe, and rejoyce under hope, althoghe I should never sie the end of itt. I beseeche you to haist back this bearer, and let me know with him the condition of affairs in Scotland; how or good freinds are, and how soon we may expect yor returne hither, or if I must come to you befor ye come to us. I referr the marquiss of Argyle and my lord Balmerinoch, and other freinds to you for intelligence, to spair paines and supply the want of leasure; and will say noe more at this tyme, bot that I am your most affectionate and faithfull friend, LOUDOUNE."—*Wodrow's MS. Collection*, vol. lxvi. The letter is dated from Worcester house, January 6, 1644.

<sup>17</sup> Balf. An. iii. 204, 248.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 262.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 377.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 381.

acts as lord advocate, was the proclamation of Charles II. on the 5th of February, 1649; and he was on the 10th of March, in the same year, appointed to his long-looked-for post of lord register, in place of Gibson of Durie, superseded by the act of classes. At the battle of Dunbar, in 1650, he was one of the committee of the estates appointed to superintend the military motions of Leslie, and was urgent in pressing the measure which is reputed to have lost the day to the Scots. He was naturally accused of treachery, but the charge has not been supported. "Waristoun," says Burnet, "was too hot, and Lesley was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he ought not to have done;"<sup>21</sup> and the mistake may be attributed to the obstinacy of those, who, great in the cabinet and conventicle, thought they must be equally great in war.

Warriston was among the few persons who in the committee of estates refused to accede to the treaty of Charles II. at Breda; an act of stubborn consistency, which, joined to others of a like nature, sealed his doom in the royal heart. After the battle of Dunbar, the repeal of the act of classes, which was found necessary as a means of re-constructing the army, again called forth his jaw-breaking powers. He wrote "a most solid letter" on the subject to the meeting held at St Andrews, July 18, 1651, which appears never to have been read, but which has been preserved by the careful Wodrow<sup>22</sup> for the benefit of posterity. He wrote several short treatises on "the sinfulness of joining malignants," destroying their jaws in a very considerate and logical manner. One of these is extant, and lays down its aim as follows:

"The first question concerning the sinfulness of the publick resolutions, hath bene handled in a former tractat. The other question remaines, anent y<sup>e</sup> sinfulness and unlawfulness of the concurrence of particular persons." The question is proposed in the following terms:—"vizt. when God's covenanted people intrusts God's covenanted interest to the power of God's anti-covenanted enemies, though upon pretence to fight against ane other anti-covenanted enemy—whether a conscienscious covenanter can lawfullie concurre with such a partie in such a cause, or may lawfullie abstane, and rather give testimonie by suffering against both parties and causes, as sinfull and prejudiciall to God's honour and interest. It is presupposed a dutie to oppose the common enemy. The question is anent the meanes of resisting the unjust invader."

"Three things premitted. I. The clearing of terms. II. Some distinctions. III. Some conjunctions handled."<sup>23</sup> The postulates are, perhaps, rather too sweeping for general opinion, but, presuming them to be granted, the reasonings of this lay divine are certainly sufficiently logical within their narrow space, and may have appeared as mathematical demonstrations to those who admitted the deep sin of accepting assistance from opponents in religious opinion. This resistance appears, however, to have been of a negative nature, and not to have extended to the full extremity of the remonstrance of the west; at least when called on for an explanation by the committee of Estates, he declined owning connexion with it: "Warreston did grant that he did see it, was at the voting of it, but refused to give his votte therin. He denyed that he wes accessorey to the contriving of it at first."<sup>24</sup>

After this period he appears to have been for some time sick of the fierce politics in which he had been so long engaged, and to have retired himself into the bosom of a large family. He is accused by a contemporary—not of much credit—of peculation, in having accepted sums of money for the disposal of offices under him; and the same person in the same page states the improbable circumstance of his having restored the money so gained, on all the offices

<sup>21</sup> Burnet, 83.

<sup>22</sup> Wodrow's Collection, Ad. Lib. xxxii. 5, 15.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>24</sup> Balf. An. iv. 169. Scots Worthies, 275.

being abolished by Cromwell, and that he was not affluent, having "conquest no lands but Warriston,"<sup>25</sup> of the avail of 1000 merks Scots a-year, where he now lives freed of trouble of state or country."<sup>26</sup>

He was a member of the committee of protestors, who in 1657, proceeded to London to lay their complaints before the government. Cromwell knew the value of the man he had before him, and persuaded him to try the path of ambition under the new government. Wodrow and others have found it convenient to palliate his departure from the adherence to royalty, as an act for which it was necessary to find apologies in strong calls of interest, and facility of temper. It will, however, almost require a belief in all the mysteries of divine right, to discover why *Warriston* should have adhered to royalty without power, and how the opinions he always professed should have made him prefer a factious support of an absent prince to the service of a powerful leader, his early friend and coadjutor in opposing hereditary loyalty.

On the 9th of July, 1657, he was re-appointed clerk register, and on the 3rd of November in the same year, he was named as one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland.<sup>27</sup> Cromwell created Johnston a peer, and he sat in the protector's upper house, with the title of lord Warriston, occupying a station more brilliant, but not so exalted as those he had previously filled. After the death of Cromwell, Warriston displayed his strong opposition to the return of royalty, by acting as president of the committee of safety under Richard Cromwell. Knowing himself to be marked out for destruction, he fled at the Restoration to France. It is painful, after viewing a life spent with honour and courage, in the highest trusts, to trace this great man's life to an end which casts a blot on the times, and on the human race. He was charged to appear before the Estates; and having been outlawed in the usual form, on the 10th October, 1661, a reward of 5000 merks was offered for his apprehension. By a fiction of law, the most horrible which a weak government ever invented for protection against powerful subjects, but which, it must be acknowledged, was put in force by Warriston and his confederates against Montrose, an act of forfeiture in absence passed against him, and he was condemned to death on the 15th of May, 1661. The principal and avowed articles of accusation against him were, his official prosecution of the royalists, and particularly of Gordon of Newton, his connexion with the Remonstrance, his sitting in parliament as a peer of England, and his accepting office under Cromwell.

It was necessary that the victim of judicial vengeance should be accused of acts which the law knows as crimes; and acts to which the best protectors of Charles the Second's throne were accessary, were urged against this man. For the hidden causes of his prosecution we must however look in his ambition, the influence of his worth and talents, and the unbending consistency of his political principles; causes to which Wodrow has added his too ungracious censure of regal vice.

In the mean time, Johnston had been lurking in Germany and the Low Countries, from which, unfortunately for himself, he proceeded to France. A confidant termed "*major Johnston*," is supposed to have discovered his retreat; and a spy of the name of Alexander Murray, commonly called "*crooked Murray*," was employed to hunt him out. This individual, narrowly watching the motions of lady Warriston, discovered his dwelling in Rouen, and with consent of the council of France, he was brought prisoner to England, and lodged in the Tower on the 8th of June, 1663; thence he was brought to Edinburgh, not

<sup>25</sup> A small estate so near Edinburgh as to be now encroached upon by its suburbs.

<sup>26</sup> Scot of Scotstarvet's Stag. State, 127.

<sup>27</sup> Haig and Brunton's Hist. College of Justice, 308.

for the purpose of being tried, but to suffer execution of the sentence passed on him in absence. When presented to parliament to receive sentence, it was apparent that age, hardship, and danger, had done their work effectually on his iron nerves; and the intrepid advocate of the covenant exhibited the mental imbecility of an idiot. His friends accused Dr Bates of having administered to him deleterious drugs, and weakened him by bleeding; an improbable act, which would have only raised unnecessary indignation against those who already had him sufficiently in their power. The apostate Sharpe, and his other enemies, are said to have ridiculed the sick lion; but there were at least a few of his opponents not too hardened to pity the wreck of a great intellect before them.<sup>28</sup>

Probably affected by the circumstances of his situation, some of the members showed an anxiety for a little delay; but Lauderdale, who had received imperative instructions regarding him, fiercely opposed the proposition. He was sentenced to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of July, his head being to be severed from his body, and placed beside that of his departed brother in the cause, Guthrie. Of the mournful pageant we extract the following characteristic account from Wodrow:

“The day of his execution, a high gallows or gibbet was set up at the cross, and a scaffold made by it. About two o’clock he was taken from prison; many of his friends attended him in mourning. When he came out, he was full of holy cheerfulness and courage, and as in perfect serenity and composure of mind as ever he was. Upon the scaffold he acknowledged his compliance with the English, and cleared himself of the least share of the king’s death. He read his speech with an audible voice, first at the north side and then at the south side of the scaffold: he prayed next, with the greatest liberty, fervour, and sense of his own unworthiness, frequently using the foresaid expression. After he had taken his leave of his friends, he prayed again in a perfect rapture; being now near the end of that sweet work he had been so much employed about through his life, and felt so much sweetness in. Then the napkin being tied upon his head, he tried how it would fit him, and come down and cover his face, and directed to the method how it should be brought down when he gave the sign. When he was got to the top of the ladder, to which he was helped, because of bodily weakness, he cried with a loud voice, ‘I beseech you all who are the people of God, not to scar [be scared] at sufferings for the interests of Christ, or stumble at any thing of this kind falling out in those days; but be encouraged to suffer for him; for I assure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges.’ This he repeated again with great fervour, while the rope was tying about his neck, adding, ‘The Lord hath graciously comforted me.’ Then he asked the executioner if he was ready to do his office, who answering he was, he bid him

<sup>28</sup> One of these was M<sup>r</sup> Kenzie, who, with uncharitable and improbable inferences, draws the following graphic picture of the scene:—“He was brought up the street discovered [uncovered]; and being brought into the council house of Edinburgh, where the chancellor and others waited to examine him, he fell upon his face roaring, and with tears entreated they would pity a poor creature who had forgot all that was in his bible. This moved all the spectators with a deep melancholy; and the chancellor, reflecting upon the man’s former esteem, and the great share he had in all the late revolutions, could not deny some tears to the frailty of silly mankind. At his examination he pretended that he had lost so much blood by the unskillfulness of his surgeons, that he lost his memory with his blood; and I really believe that his courage had indeed been drawn out with it. Within a few days he was brought before the parliament, where he discovered nothing but much weakness, running up and down upon his knees begging mercy. But the parliament ordained his former sentence to be put into execution, and accordingly he was executed at the cross of Edinburgh. At his execution he showed more composure than formerly, which his friends ascribed to God’s miraculous kindness for him, but others thought that he had only formerly put on this disguise of madness to escape death in it, and that, finding the mask useless, he had returned, not to his wit, which he had lost, but from his madness, which he had counterfeited.”—*Sir G. M<sup>r</sup> Kenzie’s Annals*, 134.



do it, and, crying out, 'O, pray, pray! praise, praise!' was turned over, and died almost without a struggle, with his hands lift up to heaven."<sup>29</sup>

The same partial hand has thus drawn his character: "My lord Warriston was a man of great learning and eloquence; of very much wisdom, and extraordinary zeal for the public cause of religion and reformation, in which he was a chief actor; but above all, he was extraordinary in piety and devotion, as to which he had scarce any equal in the age he lived in. One who was his intimate acquaintance says, he spent more time, notwithstanding the great throng of public business upon his hand, in prayer, meditation, and close observation of providences, and self-examination, than ever he knew or heard of: and as he was very diligent in making observations on the Lord's way, so he was visited with extraordinary discoveries of the Lord's mind, and very remarkable providences. He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations; an invaluable treasure of Christian experiences and observations; and, as I am told by one who had the happiness to see some part of it, there is mixed in sometimes matters of fact very little known now, which would bring a great deal of light to the history of Scots affairs, in that period wherein he lived."<sup>30</sup>

But his nephew Burnet, has in his usual characteristic manner, drawn a more happy picture of the stubborn statesman and hardy zealot, too vivid to be neglected: "Warristoun was my own uncle; he was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty-four: he had studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought, with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthened devotions, in which he continued many hours a-day: he would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during these effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the covenant as the setting Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, though he had thirteen children; but prosperity was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in public assemblies; and he had a fruitful invention; so that he was at all times furnished with expedients."

JOHNSTON, (DR) ARTHUR, a poet and physician, was born in the year 1587, at Caskieben, the seat of his family, a few miles from Aberdeen. He was the fifth son of George Johnston of that ilk and of Caskieben, the chief of the family of Johnston, by Christian Forbes, daughter of William, seventh baron Forbes. He appears to have been named after his uncle the honourable William Forbes of Logie, who was killed at Paris in the year 1574.<sup>1</sup> This poet, whose chief characteristic was the elegance with which he expressed his own simple feelings as a poet, in the language appropriate to the customs and feelings of a past nation, has left in his *Epigrammata* an address to his native spot; and, although Caskieben is a piece of very ordinary Scottish scenery, it is surprising how much he has made of it, by the mere force of his own early associations. With the minuteness of an enthusiast, he does not omit the circumstance, that the hill of Benochie, a conical elevation about eight miles distant, casts its shadow over Caskieben at the periods of the equinox. As we shall be able, by giving this epigram, to unite a specimen of the happiest original efforts of the author's genius, with circumstances personally connected with his history, we beg leave to extract it:—

<sup>29</sup> Wodrow, i. 385.

<sup>30</sup> Wodrow, i. 361. Much search has lately been made for this interesting document, but has proved vain.

<sup>1</sup> Johnston's History of the Family of Johnston, 36.

Æmula Thessalici en hic Jonstonia Tempe,  
 Hospes! hyperboreo fusa sub axe vides.  
 Mille per ambages nitidis argenteus undis,  
 Hic trepidat lætos Urius inter agros.  
 Explicat hic seras ingens Bennachius umbras,  
 Nox ubi libratur lance diesque pari.  
 Gemmifer est amnis, radiat mons ipse lapillis,  
 Queis nihil Eous purius orbis habet.  
 Hic pandit natura sinum, nativæque surgens  
 Purpura felicem sub pede ditat humum.  
 Acra per liquidum volueres, in flumine pisces,  
 Adspicis in pratis luxuriare pecus.  
 Hic seges est, hic poma rubent, onerantur aristis  
 Arva, suas ægre susinet arbor opes.  
 Propter aquas arx est, ipsi contermina cœlo,  
 Auctoris menti non tamen æqua sui.  
 Imperat hæc arvis et vectigalibus undis,  
 Et famula stadiis distat ab urbe tribus.  
 Hæc mihi terra parens: gens has Jonstonia lymphas,  
 Arvæque per centum missa tuetur avos.  
 Clara Maronæis evasit Mantua cunis;  
 Me mea natalis nobilitabit humus.

## TRANSLATION.

Here, traveller, a vale behold  
 As fair as Tempe, famed of old,  
 Beneath the northern sky!  
 Here Urie, with her silver waves,  
 Her banks, in verdure smiling, lavas,  
 And winding wimples by.

Here, towering high, Bennachie spreads  
 Around on all his evening shades,  
 When twilight grey comes on:  
 With sparkling gems the river glows;  
 As precious stones the mountain shows  
 As in the East are known.

Here nature spreads a bosom sweet,  
 And native dyes beneath the feet  
 Bedeck the joyous ground:  
 Sport in the liquid air the birds,  
 And fishes in the stream; the herds  
 In meadows wanton round.

Here ample barn-yards still are stored  
 With relics of last autumn's hoard  
 And firstlings of this year;  
 There waving fields of yellow corn,  
 And ruddy apples, that adorn  
 The bending boughs, appear.

Beside the stream, a castle proud  
 Rises amid the passing cloud,  
 And rules a wide domain,  
 (Unequal to its lord's desert:)  
 A village near, with lowlier art,  
 Is built upon the plain.

Here was I born; o'er all the land  
 Around, the Johnstons bear command,  
 Of high and ancient line:  
 Mantua acquired a noted name  
 As Virgil's birthplace; I my fame  
 Inherit shall from mine.

In a similar spirit he has left an epigram on the small burgh of Inverury, in the neighbourhood of Caskieben, in which he does not omit the circumstance, that the fuel of the inhabitants (vulgo, the peats) comes from the land in which he was born. A similar epigram to another neighbouring burgh, the *royal* burgh of Kintore, now holding the rank of a very small village, informs us that at the grammar school of that place he commenced the classical studies, which afterwards acquired for him so much eminence :

“ Hic ego sum memini musarum factus alumnus,  
Et tiro didici verba Latina loqui.”

After leaving this humble seat of learning, he is said to have studied at Marischal college in Aberdeen ; a circumstance extremely probable, but which seems to have no other direct foundation than the conjecture of Benson, from the vicinity of his paternal estate to that institution, and his having been afterwards elected rector of the university, an honour generally bestowed on illustrious alumni.<sup>2</sup>

Johnston, intending to study medicine, a science which it would have been in vain at that period to have attempted in Scotland, proceeded to Rome, and afterwards to Padua, where he seems to have acquired some celebrity for the beauty of his earlier Latin poems, and took the degree of doctor in medicine.<sup>3</sup> He afterwards travelled through Germany, Holland, and Denmark, and finally fixed his abode in France. If he remained for a considerable period at Padua, he must have early finished his curriculum of study at Aberdeen, as he is said by Sir Thomas Urquhart, to have been laureated a poet in Paris at the age of twenty-three.

He remained for twenty years in France, a period during which he was twice married, to ladies whose names are unknown, but who bore him thirteen children, to transmit his name to posterity. On his return to Britain about the year 1632, probably at the recommendation of Laud, who was his friend, and had commenced the career of court influence, Johnston was appointed physician to Charles I., a circumstance which must have preceded or immediately followed his arrival, as he styles himself in the first edition of his *Parerga and Epigrammata*, published at Aberdeen in 1632, “*Medicus Regius*.” The *Parerga* consists, as its name may designate, of a variety of small pieces of poetry, which cannot be conveniently classed under a more distinct name. A few are satirical, but the lyrical (if they may be said to come correctly under that designation) form the most interesting portion. Johnston seldom indulges in the metaphoric brilliancy which characterized the native writers in the language which he chose to use ; but he has a considerable portion of their elegance, while much of the poetry is founded on association and domestic feeling, of which he has some exquisitely beautiful traits, which would have been extremely pleasing had he used his vernacular tongue. He is said to have wished to imitate Virgil ; but those who have elevated Buchanan to the title of “the Scottish Virgil,” have designated Johnston the “Scottish Ovid ;” a characteristic which may apply to the versification of his Psalms, but is far from giving a correct idea of the spirit of his original pieces. It may not be displeasing to the reader who is unacquainted with the works of this neglected author, to give an extract from one of the *Parerga*, addressed to his early friend and school companion Wedder-

<sup>2</sup> Benson’s Life, prefixed to Johnston’s Psalms, vi.

<sup>3</sup> “Quod ex carmine manuscripto in Advocatorum Bibliotheca, Edinburgi servato, intelligimus.” The circumstance is mentioned in Sir Robert Sibbald’s *Bibliographia Scotica*, which though not a “carmen,” may be the MS. referred to.

burn,—a piece strikingly depictive of the author's affectionate feelings, and probably detailing the effects of excessive study and anxiety :

" Cernis ut obrepens mihi, Wedderburne, senecta  
 Sparserit indignus per caput omne nives.  
 Debile fit corpus, pulsus melioribus annis,  
 Nec vigor ingenii, qui fuit ante, mihi est.  
 Tempore mutato, mores mutantur et ipsi,  
 Nec capior studiis, quæ placuere prius.  
 Ante leves risus, et erant jocularia cordi,  
 Nunc mo morosum, difficilemque vides.  
 Prona fit in rixas mens, et proclivis in iras,  
 Et senio pejor cura senilis edit.  
 His ego, quæ possum, quæro medicamina morbis,  
 Et mala, qua fas est, pellere nitor ope.  
 Sæpe quod exegi pridem, juvenile revolve  
 Tempus, et in mentem tu mihi sæpe redis.  
 Par, memini, cum noster amor se prodidit, ætas,  
 Par genius nobis, ingeniumque fuit.  
 Unus et ardor erat, Phœbi conscendere collem,  
 Inque jugo summo sistere posse pedem," &c.<sup>4</sup>

Benson mentions ✓ that Johnston was a litigant in the court of session in Edinburgh, at the period of his return to Britain; and probably the issue of his suit may account for a rather unceremonious attack in the *Parerga*, on advocates and agents, unblushingly addressed "*Ad duos rabulas forenses, Advocatum et Procuratorem*," of whom, without any respect for the college of Justice, the author says,

" Magna minorque feræ, quarum paris altera lites;  
 Altera dispensus, utraque digna mori," &c.

On approaching the period when Johnston published his translation of the Psalms of David, we cannot help being struck with the circumstances under which he appears to have formed the design. Dr Eaglesham had, in the year 1620, published a criticism of considerable length, for the purpose of proving that the public voice had erred in the merit it allowed to Buchanan's version of the Psalms, and modestly displaying a translation of the 104th psalm, of his own workmanship, between which and the psalms of Buchanan he challenged a comparison.<sup>5</sup> Dr William Barclay penned a critical answer to this challenge,<sup>6</sup> and Johnston made a fierce stroke at the offender, in a satirical article in the *Parerga*, which he calls "*Consilium Collegii Medici Parisiensis de Mania Hypermori Medicastri*," commencing

" Quæ Buchananæis medicaster crimina musis  
 Objicit, et quo se jactat inane melos;  
 Vidimus: et quotquot tractamus Pæonis artes,  
 Hic vates, uno diximus ore, furit," &c.

✓ Johnston, however, did not consider himself incapacitated to perform a work in which another had failed, and he probably, at that period, formed the resolution of writing a version of the psalms, which he afterwards produced, under

<sup>4</sup> Mr George Chalmers has stated that Wedderburn was the master of Johnston. Dr Irving aptly considers that the verses we have quoted above disprove the statement.

<sup>5</sup> *Eglisemii certamen cum Georgio Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.* London, 1620.

<sup>6</sup> *Barclayi Judicium de certamine Eglisemii cum Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*

the auspices, and with the advice of his friend Laud, which he published at London and Aberdeen, in 1637. No man ever committed a more imprudent act for his own fame; as he was doomed by the nature of his task, not only to equal, but to excel, one of the greatest poets in the world. His fame was not increased by the proceedings of his eccentric countryman Lauder, who many years afterwards endeavoured with a curious pertinacity to raise the fame of Johnston's version far above that of Buchanan. Mr auditor Benson, a man better known for his benevolence than his acuteness, was made the trumpet of Johnston's fame. This gentleman published three editions of Johnston's psalms; one of which, printed in 1741, and dedicated to prince George, afterwards George III., is ornamented with a very fine portrait of the poet by Vertue after Jamesone, and is amply illustrated with notes. The zealous editor received as his reward from the literary world, a couplet in the Dunciad, in which, in allusion to his having procured the erection of the monument to the memory of Milton in Westminster abbey, it is said

“ On two unequal crutches propt he came,  
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name.”

Benson has received much ridicule for the direction of his labours; but if the life of Johnston prefixed to the edition of the psalms is from his pen, it does credit to his erudition. Many controversial pamphlets were the consequence of this attempt,—Mr Love answering Lauder, while Benson had to stand a more steady attack from the critical pen of Ruddiman. It would tire our readers here to trace a controversy which we may have occasion to treat in another place. The zeal of these individuals has not furthered the fame of Johnston: and, indeed, the height to which they attempted to raise his merit, has naturally rendered the world blind to its real extent. It cannot be said that the version of Buchanan is so eminently superior as to exclude all comparison; and, indeed, we believe the schools in Holland give Johnston the preference, with almost as much decision, as we grant it to Buchanan. The merit of the two, is, indeed, of a different sort, and we can fortunately allow that each is excellent, without bringing them to a too minute comparison. Johnston has been universally allowed to have been the more accurate translator, and few exceptions can be found to the purity of his language, while he certainly has not displayed either the richness, or the majesty of Buchanan. Johnston is considered as having been unfortunate in his method: while Buchanan has luxuriated in an amazing variety of measure, *he* has adhered to the elegiac couplet of hexameter and pentameter, excepting in the 119th psalm, in which he has indulged in all the varieties of lyrical arrangement which the Latin language admits: an inapt choice, as Hebrew scholars pronounce that psalm to be the most prosaic of the sacred poems.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> An esteemed correspondent supplies us with the following note:—“ It may be enough to prove the elegance and accuracy of Arthur Johnston's Latinity, to say, that his version of the 104th psalm has frequently been compared with that of Buchanan, and that scholars are not unanimous in adjudging it to be inferior. As an original poet, he does not aspire to the same high companionship, though his compositions are pleasing, and not without spirit. One curious particular concerning these two authors has been remarked by Dr Johnson, from which, it would appear, that modern literature owed to the more distinguished of them a device very convenient for those whose powers of description were limited. When a rhymist protested his mistress resembled Venus, he, in fact, acknowledged his own incapacity to celebrate her charms, and gave instead a sort of catchword, by means of which, referring back to the ancients, a general idea of female perfections might be obtained. This conventional language was introduced by Buchanan; ‘who,’ says the critic just named, ‘was the first who complimented a lady, by ascribing to her the different perfections of the heathen goddesses; but Johnston,’ he adds, ‘improved upon this, by making his mistress at the same time, free from their defects!’”

A writer in the Scots Magazine for the year 1741, has noticed one excellence in the psalms of Dr Johnston, distinct from those which have been so amply heaped on him by Lauder; and as we agree with the author in his opinion of the quality, we shall quote his words: "There is one perfection in the doctor's version, which is not sufficiently illustrated; and that is, the admirable talent he has of expressing things which are peculiar to the sacred writings, and never to be met with in classic authors, in the most pure and elegant Latin. This the reader will perceive if he looks into the 83rd and 108th psalms: and still more so upon perusing the Te Deum and the apostles' creed. 'To thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein; To thee cherubim and seraphim continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.'"

"*Grex sacer auratis qui pervolat æthæra pennis  
Imperio nutuque tuo; supremaque mundi  
Templa, tua cælata manu; cælique potestas  
Omnis; et igne micans acies; et lucidus ordo,  
Agminis aligeri princeps, tibi, maxime rerum,*" &c.

How poetically are the angels described by

*Grex sacer auratis qui pervolat æthæra pennis.*

And in like manner the cherubims and seraphims, who are mentioned with the powers of heaven,<sup>8</sup>

"*Cælique potestas,*" &c.

A late writer, considerably versed in classical and biblical criticism—Mr Tennant—whose opinion coincides to a certain extent with that which we have just quoted, finds, that even after the luxuriant fervidness of Buchanan, there is much to admire in the calm tastefulness and religious feeling of Johnston, and that the work of the latter is not only a more faithful translation, but given in a manner better suited (in his opinion,) to the strains of the holy minstrel, than that followed by the fiery genius of Buchanan, when restricted to translation. "He is not," remarks this author, "tempted like Buchanan, by his luxuriance of phraseology, and by the necessity of filling up, by some means or other, metrical stanzas of prescribed and inexorable length, to expatiate from the psalmist's simplicity, and weaken, by circumlocution, what he must needs beat out and expand. His diction is, therefore, more firm and nervous, and, though not absolutely Hebræan, makes a nearer approach to the unadorned energy of Jewry. Accordingly, all the sublime passages are read with more touching effect in his, than in Buchanan's translation: he has many beautiful and even powerful lines, such as can scarce be matched by his more popular competitor; the style of Johnston possessing somewhat of Ovidian ease, accompanied with strength and simplicity, while the tragic pomp and worldly parade of Seneca and Prudentius are more affected by Buchanan."<sup>9</sup>

Let us conclude this subject with remarking the peculiar circumstance, that while Scotland has produced two Latin versions of the psalms, rivals in excellence, the talent of the whole nation has been unable to produce any English version which can be considered as even tolerable in point of versification. In 1641, Johnston died at Oxford, where he had gone on a visit to a daughter married to a divine of the church of England. Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote *Musæ Aulicæ*, addressed to his eminent contemporaries, translated Solomon's Song, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and edited the *Delitiæ Poetarum*

<sup>8</sup> Scot. Mag. iii. 255.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Lit. Journal, iii. 289.

Scotorum, in which he introduced not a few of his own productions. His works were published at Middleburg, in 1642, by his friend Scott of Scotstarvet. The present representatives of his family are, Sir William Johnston of Hilton, in Aberdeenshire, and Mr Johnston of Viewfield in the same county.

The brother of the poet was a man of some local celebrity; he was Dr William Johnston, professor of mathematics in the Marischal college of Aberdeen. "He was," says Wodrow, "a learned and experienced physician. He wrote on the mathematics. His skill in the Latin was truly Ciceronian."<sup>10</sup>

JOHNSTONE, JAMES, a physician of some eminence, was born at Annan in the year 1730. He was the fourth son of John Johnstone, Esq. of Galabank, one of the oldest branches of the family of that name. He received the rudiments of his classical education from Dr Henry, the well known author of the History of Great Britain. The science of medicine he studied first in Edinburgh and afterwards in Paris; and such was his progress in these studies, that he took the degree of doctor of medicine before he had completed his twenty-first year. On this occasion he published a thesis, "*De Aeris Factitii Imperio in Corpore Humano*," which discovered an ability that procured him many valuable friends. On completing his education, Dr Johnstone commenced practice at Kidderminster, in Worcestershire, where he quickly acquired a great degree of celebrity by the successful manner in which he treated a peculiar epidemic, called, from its remarkable virulence in that locality, the Kidderminster fever. Of this fever, and his mode of treating it, he published an account in 1758, an exceedingly important treatise, from the circumstance of its pointing out the power of minerals and vapours to correct or destroy putrid febrile contagion. This discovery, now so frequently and successfully employed in arresting the progress of infection, and in purifying infected places, though since claimed by others, belongs beyond all doubt to Dr Johnstone; who pointed out also the simple process by which it was to be effected—viz., by pouring a little vitriolic acid on common salt.

Dr Johnstone was well known in the learned world by several interesting publications on subjects connected with his profession, and by several important additions which he made to the general stock of medical knowledge. Amongst these was the discovery of a cure for the ganglion of the nerves, and of the lymphatic glands.

From Kidderminster he removed to Worcester, where he continued to practise till within a few days of his death, which happened in 1802, in the seventy-third year of his age. His death was much regretted, and it was then considered that the medical science had by that event lost one of its brightest ornaments. Dr Johnstone acquires no small degree of additional celebrity from his having been the intimate friend of the amiable George lord Lyttleton, and from his being the author of the affecting account of that nobleman's death, inserted by Dr Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets*.

In a letter which he addressed to the editor of Doddridge's Letters, he says—"Lord Bacon reckons it a great deficiency in biography that it is for the most part confined to the actions of kings and princes, and a few persons of high rank, while the memory of men distinguished for worth and goodness in the lower ranks of life has been only preserved by tradition." The latter character was Dr Johnstone's, and the deficiency would indeed have been great had his name been omitted in the list of those who have deserved well of their country and of posterity. His general character and conduct are spoken of in terms of high admiration by all his contemporaries and biographers; and the serenity of his death, the cheerful and resigned spirit in which he contemplated and awaited

<sup>10</sup> Catalogues of Scottish Writers, published by Mr Maidment, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 114.

that event, is made a conspicuous feature in the history of his useful but unobtrusive life.

His celebrity as a medical practitioner was very great, and his professional skill was fortunately associated with a singular degree of kindness and amenity of manner—qualities to which the Rev. Job Orton, a man himself celebrated for piety and talent, thus bears testimony: "I left Shrewsbury and came to Kidderminster, that I might have the advice of a very able and skilful physician, ✓Dr Johnstone, who hath always proved himself a faithful and tender friend, to whose care as a physician I, under God, owe my life, and to whose friendship I am indebted for some of the greatest comforts of it."

Several of ✓Dr Johnstone's physiological inquiries were published in the Philosophical Transactions, and are to be found in the 54th, 57th, and 60th volumes of that work. They were afterwards enlarged and printed separately.

JOHNSTON, JOHN, a Latin poet and classical scholar of considerable eminence in the earlier part of the 17th century. Though this individual is one of the ornaments of a very distinguished age of Scottish literature, the date of his birth is not accurately ascertained, but it must have been previous to the year 1570, as in 1587 he began to be known to the world. He styles himself "Abredonensis;" and as he was a member of the house of Crimond, he was probably born at the family seat near Aberdeen. Dr M'Crie, whose minute labours have thrown so much light on the literary history of this period, has, among other facts connected with Johnston, (which we shall here carefully recapitulate,) discovered the name of his master, from the last will of the poet, in which he affectionately leaves to that individual his white cup with the silver foot.<sup>1</sup> The same instrument appoints, as one of his executors, "Mr Robert Johnston of Creimond," probably his brother, a person who appears to have been in 1635 elected provost of Aberdeen.<sup>2</sup> Johnston studied at King's college in Aberdeen, whence, after the usual custom of the age, he made a studious perigrination among the continental universities, which he continued during a period of eight years. In 1587, we find him at the university of Helmstadt, whence he transmitted a manuscript copy of Buchanan's *Sphæra*, to be re-edited by Pincier, along with two epigrams of his own.<sup>3</sup> In 1587, he was at the university of Rostock, where he enjoyed the intimacy and correspondence of the elegantly learned but fanciful Justus Lipsius. An epistle from this veteran in classical criticism to his younger associate, is preserved in the published correspondence of the former, and may interest from the paternal kindness of its spirit, and the acknowledgment it displays of the promising genius of the young Scottish poet.

"You love me, my dear Johnston, and you praise my constancy. I heartily second the former statement, but as to the latter, I am afraid I must receive it with some diffidence, for I fear I have not achieved the praiseworthy excellence in that quality which your affectionate feelings have chosen to assign to me. I am, however, not a little flattered by the circumstance that David Chytræus (by the way, who is that man?) is, as you say, of the same opinion with yourself in this matter, whether by mistake or otherwise. Whatever may be in this, I love—indeed I do—that constancy which has secured me so many friends; in the number of which, my dear Johnston, I not only ask, but command you to consider yourself as henceforth enrolled. Should God again grant to me to stand on and behold the soil of Germany, (and such an event may perhaps happen

<sup>1</sup> Item—I leave to Mr Robert Merser, Persoun of Banquhorie, (Banehory, near Aberdeen,) my auld kynd maister, in taiken of my thankful dewtie, my quhyit cope with the silver fit."—M'Crie's *Melville*, i. 351.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Family of Johnston, 29.

<sup>3</sup> M'Crie's *Melville*, i. 331.



sooner than we wish, as matters are now moving,) I shall see thee, and we shall shake hands as a token of truth and affection. For your verses I return you thanks, which shall be doubly increased, if you will frequently favour me with your letters, in which I perceive evident marks of your wonted elegance and erudition.—*Leyden, the 20th March, 1588.*"

Johnston appears to have early embraced the doctrines of the presbyterian church of Scotland, and to have retained them with the characteristic firmness of the sect. He was the intimate friend of its accomplished partisan Andrew Melville, whose influence probably procured him the appointment to the professorship of divinity in the new college of St Andrews, as successor to John Robertson,—an advancement which he obtained previously to the year 1594, as he is discovered, under the term "maister in the new college," to have been elected one of the elders of St Andrews, on the 28th November, 1593. Johnston was a useful assistant to his illustrious friend, in the opposition to the harassing efforts of king James to introduce episcopacy. He must have been included in the interdict of the visitation of the university commission, by which the professors of theology and philosophy, not being pastors of the church, were prohibited from sitting in church courts, except through an election regulated by the council of the visitation: and in the General Assembly which met at Dundee in 1598, whither both had resorted to oppose the too great tenderness of James for the church, in proposing to admit its representation in parliament, Melville and Johnston were charged to quit the city, with the usual formality of the pain of rebellion in case of refusal. In 1603, these friends again appear acting in concert, in a correspondence with Du Plessis, on the subject of the synod of Gap in France having censured certain peculiar opinions on the doctrine of justification. "They did not presume to judge of the justice of the synod of Gap, but begged leave to express their fears that strong measures would inflame the minds of the disputants, and that a farther agitation of the question might breed a dissension very injurious to the interests of the evangelical churches. It appeared to them that both parties held the protestant doctrine of justification, and only differed a little in their mode of explaining it. They, therefore, in the name of their brethren, entreated Du Plessis to employ the authority which his piety, prudence, learned writings, and illustrious services in the cause of Christianity had given him in the Gallican church, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy." Without inquiring into the minutia of the controversy, the knowledge that it was a theological one is sufficient to make us appreciate the advice as exceedingly sound; and we have the satisfaction to know, as a rare instance, that it produced the desired effect. During the previous year Johnston had published at Amsterdam his first complete poetical

<sup>4</sup> "Joanni Johnstono, Scoto,

"Quod et me amas, et constantiam meam laudas, mi Jonstone: alterum valde amplector et approbo, alterum timide, quia scio reipsa non attingere me culmen hoc laudis, in quo collocat me tuus affectus. Etsi tamen nonnihil blanditur, quod David Chytræus (quis ille vir?) pariter tecum, ut ais, sive judicat, sive errat. Quidquid hujus est, amo, jam amo constantiam meam quæ tam multos mihi conciliat amicos. In quo numero ut fidenter te deinceps censeas, mi Jonstone, jubeo, non solum rogo. Quod si Deus mihi tangere et videre Germaniæ solum iterum dederit (fiet fortasse voto citius, ut res hic fluunt) te videbo, et dexteram jungam, tesseram fidei et amoris. De carmine gratiam tibi habeo, magis magisque habiturus, si crebro me epistolis tuis salutaveris, in quibus notas claras video elegantiam præcæ et doctrinæ. Lugd. Batav., xi Kalend., April. 1598."—*Lipsii Opera*, ii. 29. *Letter xxxviii.*

David Chytræus, whom Lipsius singularly does not appear to have known, was a man of much eminence; he was professor of divinity at Rostock, and died pretty much advanced in years about the year 1600. He wrote several works, among which his continuation of Albert Crantz's History of the Saxons and Vandals, and his "Histoire De la Confession d'Auxbourg," were published previously to the date of this epistle. Lipsius had every reason to be modest on the subject of his "constancy."

<sup>5</sup> M'Crie's Melville, ii. 101.

work, entitled "*Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum, continuata annorum serie a Fergusio I. ad Jacobum VI. Præfixus est Cathelus, sive de gentis origine, Fragmentum Andreae Melvini. Additæ sunt icones omnium regum nobilis Familiae Stuartorum*," 4to; and in 1603, he published at Leyden, "*Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica Lectissimi*," 4to. Both these productions have been preserved in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, by the author's relative, Arthur Johnston. The former is a series of epigrammatic addresses to the Scottish monarchs, commencing with Fergus I., and duly passing through the extended list, to the reigning monarch James VI; regarding whom it is worthy of commendatory remark, that the author is more lavish of commendations on the good fortune which providence had bestowed on him, than on his talents or kingly qualities. The "*Heroes*" is a tissue of similar epigrams, addressed to the heroes who distinguish the reigns of the same line of kings, commencing with Ferchard, the great commander-in-chief of king Reuther. Of course, both works laud the virtues of many men who never drew breath. The merits of Johnston as a poet cannot be said to rise beyond those of the mere epigrammatist: to the classical elegance of his Latinity, we believe few objections can be found, but he displays more of the neatness of illustration, and precise aptness of association, which may be taught, than of the inborn poetic fire; and his works are perhaps more pleasing in the restrictions of a classical tongue, than they might have been had he allowed himself to range in the freedom of his vernacular language. When treating those who never existed, or of whom little is known, the absence of all interest from the subject adds to the coldness of the epigram, and leaves room for the mere conceit to stand alone; but in treating of interesting or striking events, Johnston could sometimes be lofty, and hit a chord of feeling. We might instance, as favourable specimens, the epigram to the family of the Frasers, massacred by the Clanranald in 1544, and that to Robert the Bruce. In 1609, Johnston published at Leyden, "*Consolatio Christiana sub Cruce, et Iambi de Felicitate Hominis Deo reconciliati*, 8vo; in 1611, he published "*Iambi Sacri*;" and in 1612, "*Tetrasticha et Lemmata Sacra—Item Cantica Sacra—Item Icones Regum Judeæ et Israelis*. Lugd. Bat.<sup>6</sup>

Johnston died in the month of October, 1612; the last scene of his life is drawn by James Melville in a letter to his uncle, dated the 25th of November ensuing; of which we cannot avoid giving the terms, as translated by Dr M'Crie. "Your colleague John Johnston closed his life last month. He sent for the members of the university and presbytery, before whom he made a confession of his faith, and professed his sincere attachment to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in which he desired to die. He did not conceal his dislike of the lately erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud, and whole conduct of the bishops. He pronounced a grave and ample eulogium on your instructions, admonitions, and example; craving pardon of God and you, for having offended you in any instance, and for not having borne more meekly with your wholesome and friendly anger. As a memorial, he has left you a gilt velvet cap, a gold coin, and one of his best books. His death would have been a most mournful event to the church, university, and all good men, had it not been that he has for several years laboured under an incurable disease, and that the ruin of the church has swallowed up all lesser sorrows, and exhausted our tears."

We learn that he had married Catharine Melville of the family of Carribee—

<sup>6</sup> Maidment's Catalogues of Scots Writers, 14—Sibbald's Bibliotheca Scottica, MS., 49. There is some difference in the names, as recorded by these two writers, and never having seen the works themselves, we take what appear to be the more correct titles.

<sup>7</sup> M'Crie's Melville, ii. 284.

but at what period seems not to be known—and he has left behind him epitaphs on her and their two children. It appears that in 1600, he had been solicited to become “second minister” of Haddington. Besides the works already mentioned, there exist, or did exist by him in MS. in the Advocates’ Library, *Περὶ Στεφανῶν* sive de coronis Martyrum in Scotia Liber Unus,—De coronis Martyrum in Anglia Libellus alter,—and *Peculium Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, et alia quædam Poemata*.” He wrote epigrams on the chief towns of Scotland, which have been appropriately inserted in Cambden’s *Britannia*; and some of his letters are to be found in the correspondence of that eminent antiquary. Andrew Melville says, “Mr Johne Davidstone left sum nots behind of our tyme, and so did Mr Johne Johnstoun :” what has become of these we know not.

JOHNSTON, ROBERT, an historian, existed in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The works of this individual are well known, but he has not achieved personal eminence; and we neither know when he was born, nor the station which he occupied in life. At Amsterdam was printed in 1655, his “*Historia Rerum Britannicarum, ut et multarum Gallicarum, Belgicarum, et Germanicarum, tam politicarum, quam ecclesiasticarum, ab anno 1572, ad 1628.*”

This work was intended as a continuation of Buchanan; and bishop Nicholson, no bestower of heedless praise, appears to think that it nearly equals in style the work which it imitated.<sup>1</sup> The late lord Woodhouselee, a less scrupulous critic where a Scotsman was concerned, calls it “A work of great merit, whether we consider the judicious structure of the narrative, the sagacity of the reflections, the acute discernment of characters, or the classical tincture of the style. In those passages of his history,” says this writer, “where there is room for a display of eloquence, he is often singularly happy in touching those characteristic circumstances which present the picture strongly to the mind of the reader, without a vain parade of words, or artificial refinement of sentiment. We may cite as an example, his description of the death of Mary, queen of Scots, lib. iv. *sub anno*, 1586: and the circumstances attending the death of Essex, with the author’s reflections on that event, lib. ix. *sub anno*, 1641.” The same author farther mentions that Robert Johnston was one of the executors of George Heriot, the founder of the hospital.<sup>2</sup> Johnston, besides this extensive work, wrote “The History of Scotland during the minority of James VI.,” published at London in 1646. Wodrow mentions an “*Epitome Historiæ Rerum Britannicarum*,” published, according to his account, in 12mo, in 1642, some time previously to the appearance of the larger work.<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Sibbald seems to find nothing more remarkable to tell us about Johnston, than that he was on intimate terms with Bruce, baron of Kinloss. “Robertus Jonstonus baroni Killosensi Brusio dum viveret, charus: vir variæ lectionis, egregiæ eruditionis, limati judicii.” He mentions that Johnston is said to have died in 1630, and gives us an epigram on his history from the pen of Joannes Owen.<sup>4</sup> There is in the Advocates’ Library a ponderous manuscript History of Scotland, by a person of the name of Johnston, and generally understood to be at least partly written by the subject of our memoir. The manuscript has belonged to lord Fairfax, and at the commencement is the following note in his handwriting:

“Of the gift of Mr David Johnston, burgess of Edinburgh, itt beinge the labour of his late father and grandfather, (the first draught.) A transcript

<sup>1</sup> Nicholson’s Scottish Historical Library, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler’s *Kames*, i. Ap. i.

<sup>3</sup> Wodrow’s *Catalogues of Scottish Writers*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Sibbaldi *Biblioth. Scot. MS.*, 221.

whereof he reserves to himself, (but is not all printed,) nor is ther any copy therof, but onely this, beinge for the most part a translation of Buccuhanan, but with very many additions not thought fit to publish. FAIRFAX.—*20th October, 1655.*"

JONES, PAUL, (originally John Paul,) a nautical genius of no ordinary character and endowments, was born at Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in the month of July, 1747. He was the reputed son of John Paul, who acted as gardener to Mr Craik of Arbigland, by his wife, who had been cook to the same gentleman. It was generally believed, however, that Mr Craik was the real father of this extraordinary adventurer. The education of Paul Jones—to use the name which he assumed in after life—was in no respect different from that usually given in Scotland to boys of his rank; and it is not recorded that he showed any symptoms, while at school, of that capacity by which he was undoubtedly distinguished in advanced life. From his earliest years he manifested a decided predilection for a seafaring life, and at the age of twelve, was apprenticed as a mariner to a Mr Young, a respectable merchant in Whitehaven, whence he made his first voyage in 1760, in the ship *Friendship* of that port, under the care of a captain Benson, for the Rappahannoc, Virginia. Living on the shore of the Solway, all the amusements and ideas of young Paul seem to have been from his very cradle maritime. While yet a mere child he hoisted his mimic flag, rendezvoused his tiny fleet, and gave forth his orders to his imaginary captains, with all the consequence of a veteran commander. The town of Dumfries was at this period deeply engaged in American trade, particularly in importing tobacco, and the Nith being too shallow to float the larger vessels up to the town, their cargoes were discharged at Carse-thorn, on the Galloway coast, where the subject of this memoir was a daily observer of their operations, and not unfrequently ventured to challenge the modes of procedure followed by experienced seamen. Here, too, he had early and abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the colonists engaged in that traffic, whose bold and liberal sentiments seem, at a very early period of his life, to have made the New World, as he afterwards expressed himself, "the country of his fond election." These early impressions were doubtless aided by the circumstance of an elder brother having settled there, and being in the full enjoyment of the peace and the plenty with which, so long as the states were submissive colonies of Great Britain, it was universally admitted the inhabitants were generally blessed. With this brother he made his abode during the time his ship was in the Rappahannoc on his first voyage, and most probably on his subsequent voyages; which could not fail in some degree to have attached him to the country, though he had been devoid of any prepossessions in its favour. The early indications of genius, which we have noticed above, were fully supported in his new station. His singular intelligence and propriety of conduct excited the wonder, and, in some degree, the respect of his ship-mates, at the same time that they gained him the esteem and the confidence of his employer, who promised to give him the proof of his approbation by appointing him to the command of one of his ships. Unfortunately for both parties, untoward circumstances prevented the master from having it in his power to pay this substantial tribute of respect to the merits of his faithful apprentice, whose time having expired, he entered to the command of a slave ship, and made several voyages to the coast of Africa in prosecution of that disgraceful traffic. How long he continued in this trade his biographers have not told us; but to his honour they have stated that he felt disgusted with the employment, and at length "confined his services to the command of vessels engaged in a more reputable and legitimate commerce." In the year 1773, the death of his brother in Virginia, without

having left any children, called him over to that country to look after the settlement of his affairs, on which occasion, all his transatlantic predilections being revived, he resolved to withdraw from the dangers and the vicissitudes of a seafaring life, to settle in the colony, and to devote the remainder of his days to the peaceful pursuits of rural industry and philosophic retirement.

There is nothing more curious in the history of the human mind than that satiety and languor which so frequently comes over the most active spirits; Cowley often had thoughts of burying himself in the woods of America, where he fancied he would be happy, in seclusion from all intercourse with the busy and bustling portions of society: Cromwell, with all his unconquerable daring and unquenchable activity—and Hambdon, one of the brightest, the boldest, and the most disinterested spirits that have adorned any age or country, despairing of the state of political affairs in their native land, sought to escape their uneasy sensations, and to secure religious peace and happiness, by the same expedient. Akin, perhaps, to these cases was that of Paul Jones, whose mind seems from the first to have been replete with lofty aspirations, fitting him for greatness, while his connexions in his own country were of a nature to prevent his ever gratifying them. We can easily conceive this bold and enthusiastic man sensible of the superiority of his powers above those of most other men, but fretting at the cold obstructions which were put before him, by the rules and habits of society in his own country, and also perhaps at the notoriety of his ignoble origin; and therefore preferring to lose himself in an American forest, where, if he did not gain any distinction, he would not at least be esteemed as lower than his personal merit warranted. Had the colonies been in a state of tranquillity, Jones would probably have spent the remainder of his days as a simple colonist, or perhaps gone back to sea, to escape the monotony of a life but little suited to his faculties. The country, however, was now in a state of high effervescence, which was every day increasing, and which called forth the energies, such as they were, of every individual among them, either on the one side or the other. Great dissatisfaction had for a long period been prevalent respecting the measures of the British government in reference to the colonies, and in the speculations of the colonists with regard to the steps necessary to be taken for counteracting these measures, Jones found the tedium of his retirement wonderfully relieved. Open resistance was no sooner proposed, than he found that he had mistaken the natural bent of his genius, which was much more turned towards action than solitary speculation; and when Congress, in the close of the year 1775, began to equip a naval force to assist in asserting American independence, he stepped boldly forward to offer his service. He was at once appointed to be first lieutenant aboard the *Alfred*, one of the only two ships belonging to the Congress; and in that capacity hoisted with his own hands for the first time the flag of independent America. In the course of a few months, by his activity and success, he gained the entire confidence of the marine committee, and from the hands of the president received a captain's commission. In the end of the year 1777, he was sent to France, in command of the *Ranger*, a new sloop of war, with despatches containing an account of the victory obtained by the colonists at Saratoga. As a reward for the important services he had already rendered to the Americans, it was ordered that he should be promoted to the command of the *Indian*, a fine frigate built for the Congress at Amsterdam, the *Ranger*, at the same time, acting under his orders; but the American commissioners at Paris, from motives of policy, assigned the *Indian* over to the king of France. Captain Jones, of course, remained in command of the *Ranger*, with which he convoyed a fleet of merchant-men to Quiberon Bay, and there, from the French commandant, received the first salute that had ever been given

to the American flag. Highly indignant at the resolution taken by the British government, to treat every colonist who supported Congress in their aims at independence as traitors, and emulous of the exploits of some British seamen on the American coast, Jones soon after entered the Irish channel, and on the night of the 22nd of April came to anchor in the Solway firth, almost in sight of the trees which sheltered his native cottage. The place must have awakened many strange associations; but they were of no friendly import. With thirty-one volunteers, he sailed in two row boats for the English side of the firth, with intent to burn the shipping (upwards of two hundred sail) in the harbour of Whitehaven. This bold and hazardous project he had certainly executed, if the receding tide had not retarded his progress so much, that the day began to dawn before he reached the shore; as it was, he could scarcely have failed had he been seconded by his followers. The smaller of the boats he sent to the north of the port, to set fire to the ships, whilst he himself passed southwards to secure the fort. The morning was cold, and the sentinels, suspecting nothing less than the approach of an enemy, were in the guard-room; a circumstance of which Jones knew well how to take advantage. Climbing up by the shoulders of one of his men, he crept through one of the embrasures, and was promptly followed by all his company. Making fast the door of the guard-room, he spiked every gun on the fort, thirty-six in number, and, without having hurt a single individual, proceeded to join the party who had it in charge to burn the ships. A false alarm had deterred this party from executing their orders. Jones, however, proceeded to fire the ships within his reach; but the inhabitants were by this time alarmed, and hastening to the protection of the port; and he was compelled with his small party to retreat, after having set fire to three ships, one of which only was totally destroyed. This achievement cannot be denied the praise of singular daring; yet there is something so unnatural in making war upon one's native land, and especially one's native city, improving all the knowledge and the associations of early years for the purposes of destruction, that every generous mind revolts at the idea, and cannot award the praise which, it may be admitted, would otherwise be due to the undertaking. But this attempt was only the first exploit which signalized the 22nd of April. Early in the forenoon, he landed with a part of his crew at St Mary's Isle, on the Galloway coast, the beautiful residence of the earl of Selkirk, whom he hoped to have surprised, and carried off a prisoner to America, that he might serve as a hostage for the security of such of the colonists as should fall into the hands of the British. Happily for his lordship, he was not at home, and Jones, as he approached the house, and learned that there were only ladies within it, wished to return to his ship without farther procedure; but his followers had no such exalted ideas. In venturing upon an undertaking so hazardous, they were influenced by the hope of plunder, which, being now in view, they refused to relinquish. He succeeded, however, so far, that they agreed to offer no violence to any one, that they should not enter the house, and that the officers, having made their demand, should accept of what might be put into their hands without further inquiry. These stipulations were punctually fulfilled; but the inmates of the house were not aware of them, and, terrified for their lives, were glad to redeem them by delivering up the whole family plate, which was carried off in triumph by the sailors, who neither understood nor cared for the discredit, which it brought upon their intrepid commander and the cause they served. The circumstance was, as he probably foresaw, improved with great effect to his disadvantage. To heighten the odium of the affair, it was industriously but most falsely given out that the father of Jones had been gardener to the earl of Selkirk, and that it was from this circumstance he had learned all the localities of the place, which

enabled him to commit the robbery without danger either to himself or his marauding crew. Not one of Jones's relations had ever been in the service of Lord Selkirk; and he showed that he had a spirit far above the meanness imputed to him, by buying the whole of the articles from the captors, who claimed them as their right by the usages of war, and, at a subsequent period, restoring them, in their original packages, to the noble owner. In a correspondence which was carried on between Jones and lady Selkirk relative to the affair, her ladyship most gratefully acknowledged the generosity and the integrity of his character.

But these exploits on shore did not exhaust the good fortune of Jones. The very next day, in the bay of Carrick Fergus, he fell in with the Drake, a king's ship of twenty guns, and after a desperate resistance, in which the English captain and his first lieutenant were both killed, made her his prize, with which, and another large ship, he returned to Brest, after an absence of twenty-eight days. In this short period, besides destroying a number of valuable ships, he had thrown the coasts both of Scotland and Ireland into the deepest consternation. This cruise, short as it was, occasioned the British government immense sums of money for the fortification of harbours, and it was the ostensible cause of embodying the Irish volunteers, a measure of which we have yet felt only a few of the consequences.

Notwithstanding the brilliant success that had attended his exertions, Jones was now subjected to no small degree of mortification. As a token of good-will to the United States, the French ministry had promised to furnish him with a ship, aboard of which he was to hoist the American flag; but after multiplied applications, and a number of written memorials, the engagement seemed to be forgotten or disregarded. Wearied out with the delays and apologies which he was daily receiving, Jones set out for Paris to make his application to the French ministry in person, in consequence of which he obtained the command of the Duras, a ship of forty guns, the name of which, in compliment to a saying of poor Richard, "If you would have your business done, come yourself," he changed to *Le bon homme Richard*. In this vessel, badly manned and poorly furnished, Jones sailed with a little squadron, to which he acted as commodore. This squadron consisted of the Alliance, of thirty-six guns, the Pallas of thirty-two, the Serf of eighteen, the Vengeance of twelve, and two privateers, who were promised their share of the prizes that might be made. Having taken a number of prizes, the Alliance, the Serf, and the privateers deserted him, in order to pursue their own plans singly. The courage and skill of the commodore, however, did not forsake him, and after again alarming the coasts of Ireland, he sailed by the North Sea round to Leith, in the roads of which he appeared with his own ship, the Richard, accompanied by the Pallas and the Vengeance, in the month of September, evidently determined to seize upon the guard ship and two cutters that lay in the roads, and to lay Leith and perhaps the city of Edinburgh under contribution. The wind, however, which was fair when he made his appearance, shifted during the night, and the next day he continued working up the firth with great labour and slow progress. While he was thus employed, a boat from the shore, sent out by an official character, who mistook his ships for British, informed Jones that he was greatly afraid of a visit from that desperate buccaneer Paul Jones, and begging that he would send him some powder and shot. Highly amused with his mistake, the good-humoured republican sent him a barrel of gunpowder, with a civil answer to quiet his fears, and a modest apology for not including shot in the present he had sent him. In the mean time he relaxed nothing in his exertions to come at the ships of war in the roads, and other two tacks would have laid him along

side of them, when a sudden gale of wind sweeping down the firth sunk one of his prizes, and carried his squadron irresistibly out to sea. The captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* were so much dejected at this accident, that they could not be prevailed upon to renew the attempt. His little squadron shortly after fell in with the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, under convoy of his majesty's ships the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*. A most desperate engagement ensued, in which Jones displayed the most consummate skill, dauntless intrepidity, and the most perfect presence of mind. The battle was obstinately contested; but the *Countess of Scarborough* was at last obliged to strike to the *Pallas*, and the *Serapis* to the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was so shattered in the action, that next morning, after all hands had left her, she went to the bottom. Though the *Serapis* was nearly in the same condition, Jones hoisted his flag aboard of her, and under jury masts, with some difficulty, steered her along with his other prizes into the Texel. He now used all his influence with the French court to have his prisoners exchanged against American prisoners in England, in which he had the pleasure of succeeding to the utmost of his wishes, receiving, in a short time after, a letter from Benjamin Franklin, the American minister at Paris, which informed him, "that he (Franklin) had just completed the noble work, which he (Jones) had so nobly begun, by giving liberty to all the Americans that then languished in England." The French ambassador at the Hague was at the same time ordered to communicate to commodore Jones, the high sense which his majesty, the king of France, entertained of his merits, and the personal esteem he bore for his character, and, especially, for his disinterested humanity.

Jones now took the command of the *Alliance*, the captain of which had been summoned to Paris to answer for his insubordination, in deserting the commodore on the coast of Ireland; but his situation was now perilous in the extreme. Summoned to deliver him up to the vengeance of the English government as a pirate and a rebel, the Dutch were constrained to order him out to sea, where an English squadron was watching to intercept him. From this dilemma he could have been saved by accepting of a commission from the king of France, whose ambassador earnestly pressed him to adopt that alternative; but he thought himself bound in honour to decline the offer, and determined, at whatever hazard, to abide by and support the flag of the country which he had, upon the maturest reflection, adopted. "Fortune favours the brave" is a maxim we see every day exemplified. Jones weighed anchor and escaped through the straits of Dover, almost under the eyes of the English men-of-war, all of which had strict orders to secure him, and were, besides, inflamed against him in a high degree from the repeated defeats that British ships had sustained at his hands.

Towards the close of the year 1780, he sailed with important despatches for America in the ship *Ariel*, and by the way meeting an English ship of twenty guns, engaged her, and with his usual gallantry made her his prize. The king of France had, previously to this, testified his approbation of Jones's services, by presenting him with a superb gold-hilted sword; and a letter from the French minister. M. de Sartine, was now transmitted to the president of the United States, requesting liberty "to decorate that brave officer with the cross of the order of military merit." The letter was laid before Congress, and, a law acceding to the proposal being passed on the 27th of February, he was formally invested by the chevalier de la Luzerne, at a public fete given to the members of that body. Congress, in the month of April following, on the report of a committee, passed a vote of thanks to the chevalier John Paul Jones, "for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity, with which he had sustained the honour of the American flag, for his bold and successful enterprizes to redeem



from captivity those citizens of America who had fallen under the power of the enemy, and in general for the good conduct and eminent services by which he had added lustre to his character and to the arms of America." No farther opportunity for distinguishing himself occurred during the war; but, after its conclusion, Congress, as an expression of gratitude, had a gold medal struck with appropriate devices to perpetuate the memory of his valour, and the singular services he had performed for the States.

In the year 1787, the chevalier Jones, being charged with a mission to the court of Denmark, sailed for that country in the month of November, and passing through Paris on his way, he was strongly solicited by the agents of Russia to take the command of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. This he declined, but he was scarce arrived at Copenhagen, when the empress Catharine, sent him, by a special messenger, an urgent invitation to visit St Petersburg. After what he had performed, it would have been strange if the chevalier Jones had not felt some reluctance to enter into the service of Russia, where every maxim by which he had been guided during his exertions for liberty behoved to be reversed, and where, instead of being directed by the united voice of an intelligent people, he must regulate his conduct by the single will of a despot. It is one of the greatest evils of despotism, that the despot, once established, has the means of corrupting and enslaving even the most generous minds. The chevalier Jones saw many reasons for declining to enter into the service of Catharine; but, flattered by her attention and kind offers, he thought he could not do less than to wait upon and thank her in person for her friendly intentions. For this purpose he set out instantly from Copenhagen, by the way of Sweden, but at Gushelham found the gulf of Bothnia blocked up by the ice. After making several unsuccessful attempts to reach Finland by the islands, he conceived a plan for effecting his progress by doubling the ice to the southward. With this view he sailed from Gushelham in a boat thirty feet long, followed by a smaller one that might be hauled over the ice, but told none of those who accompanied him what were his intentions. Having set out early in the morning, he had by the evening got nearly opposite Stockholm, when, instead of landing as the boatmen expected, he drew out a pair of pistols and ordered them to proceed in the direction he had previously determined upon. Resistance with a man of the chevalier's character was probably judged by the simple boatmen to be in vain; and following his orders, with a fair wind they expected to reach the coast of Finland by the morning. An impenetrable bar of ice, however, defied all their efforts, nor from the state of the weather was it possible for them to return. Their only resource was to sail for the gulf of Finland, which they did, steering at night by a pocket compass, lighted by the lamp of the chevalier's carriage, and in four days, having lost the smaller of their boats, landed at Revel in Livonia. The chevalier hastened from Revel to St Petersburg, where he met with a most gracious reception, and, unable any longer to hold out against the kind wishes of the empress, entered into her service, without any stipulations but that he should not be at any time condemned without being heard. Invested with the rank of rear-admiral, he proceeded without delay to take the command of a fleet stationed at the Liman or mouth of the Dnieper, destined to oppose the Turkish fleet under the capitan Pacha. He hoisted his flag as commander of this fleet on the 26th of May, 1788, on board the *Vlodimer*, and was supported by a flotilla under the prince of Nassau, and a number of land troops under prince Potemkin. Throughout this campaign, though it produced little that is worthy of the notice of the historian, the chevalier Jones had many opportunities of displaying his professional skill and the singular intrepidity of his character; but mean jealousy and the malignant

caballing of heartless and narrow-minded courtiers, denied him the well-earned praise that was due to his services. He was, however, on his return to St Petersburg, as an acknowledgment of his fidelity, invested with the order of St Anne, and informed, that in a short time he would be called to perform a part in services of much greater importance. He had seen enough of the Russians, however, and disgusted with the sordid selfishness and the low sensuality that reigned in the court of Catharine, took leave of her dominions, in the month of August, 1789. The remainder of his days he spent partly in Holland and partly in France, devoting his leisure hours to the arrangement of his affairs, and to the preparation of papers which might exhibit his character and his services in their true light to posterity. He also made a large collection of important documents relating to the public transactions in which he had been engaged, which will be at some future day, it is to be hoped, given to enrich the history of the important period in which he lived. He was seized with water in the chest, and died at Paris in the month of July, 1792. As the laws relative to the interment of calvinists or heretics were not then abolished in France, application was made to the national assembly, which gave free liberty for his being buried with all public honours, and ordered a deputation of their number to attend, one of whom pronounced an elegant eulogium upon his character over his grave. He left among his papers a copious memoir of his life written with his own hand, which his friends, it has been said, had it in contemplation to publish. We cannot doubt but that its publication would add to the history of that important era many valuable notices, and be hailed by the public as a most valuable contribution to the general stock of literature. From the brief sketch of his life which we have given, the reader will be at no loss to appreciate the character of Paul Jones, which, in his own country, has been misrepresented by prejudice. That he was a naval genius of the first order, his actions abundantly demonstrated. He was the man who first flung upon the winds the flag of the United States; and he graced it by a succession of victories, all of which were relatively of the most splendid character. Unlike the vaunted achievements of single ships belonging to the same nation in the late war, every one of which possessed a vast superiority of men and of metal, Jones accomplished his purposes with means, to all appearance, inadequate to the end, his ships being often half rotten, only half provided in necessaries, and his sailors of the most motley description. In every battle which he fought, superior skill and superior bravery were the evident sources of victory,—and victory, be it remembered, was his uniform attendant. Nor can the circumstance which has been so often urged against him, that of turning his arms against his native country, detract, in the smallest degree, from his merit. He was, be it remembered, at the commencement of the war, a regular colonist of America, and was, therefore, no more liable to this charge, than was any other individual out of all the thousands who at first took up arms against Great Britain, and eventually constituted the American republic.

## K

KAY, JOHN, long well-known in Edinburgh as a miniature-painter and caricaturist, and almost the only artist of the latter kind produced in Scotland, was born in April, 1742, at a place called Gibraltar, near Dalkeith. His father, and an uncle named Norman, were both stone-masons, and he was himself des-









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